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**DEAN C. WAYNE HALL**

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Editorial

# Transition

At a time when we seem to be surrounded by major upheavals and disruptive changes on all fronts — political, economic, environmental, international and local — it is reassuring to be able to report a significant shift that has occurred without rancor or revolution. The McGill Faculty of Education has had a change in the Deanship. Wayne Hall, first Dean of the Faculty, has retired and has been succeeded by Dr. George Flower. The transition has been smooth.

While we welcome Dr. Flower to the Faculty and to the Editorial Board of the *McGill Journal*, we say farewell to Dean Hall fondly and with regret. We therefore have an issue of the *Journal* which is somewhat more personal and “in house” than usual. We begin with a tribute to the former Dean in which Eigil Pedersen, Vice-Principal (Academic), Professor of Education and once a student of Wayne Hall’s, summarizes the thoughts and feelings of many members of the Faculty and University. We reproduce the caricature of Wayne by James Watling of the Department of Education in Art — the sketch that graced the menu/program for the Dean’s retirement dinner last spring. And we include Norman Henchey’s inimitable “pome,” *The Barefoot Dean*, composed for one of the Faculty’s more informal farewells. Then, we could not resist including another of his occasional pieces which reflects something of the *esprit de corps* felt in the Faculty when Wayne was Dean.

A glimpse at the future is given us by our new Dean, George Flower, and we look forward to stimulating and dynamic years ahead with his leadership.

The remaining papers in this issue cover a variety of the current concerns of educators in general: language learning, the improvement of instruction, the evaluation of teachers, and others. Jack Campbell’s “Colonel Parker’s New Woman and the New Education” links us to our last issue on “Women and Education” — which has sold out completely — and John Mallea’s “The Victorian Sporting Legacy” presages our next, the “Olympic Special,” which should be both timely and interesting.

m. g.

*Wayne-*



*- James Walling, '75*

Eigil Pedersen

## Wayne Hall: A Tribute

On May 31, 1975, Dean C. Wayne Hall retired officially from McGill University. Then, characteristically, he set aside his personal plans to serve the Faculty of Education for another two months, while awaiting the arrival of his successor, Dr. George Flower.

When Dean Hall accepted an appointment to the School for Teachers at Macdonald College in 1949, he had already established himself as a leading educator in Quebec. During the previous seventeen years, he had held the posts of classroom teacher, school principal, school inspector and finally, Supervisor of English for the Protestant Schools of Quebec. It is especially in these last two roles that he gained an outstanding reputation as one who came not to criticize, but to demonstrate sound procedures in education and to disseminate the successful practices that he saw in his daily visits to schools. He brought this constructive orientation with him to McGill, and it has served us all well in the past twenty-six years.

The list of Dean Hall's honors is a long and particularly distinguished one, illustrating the fact that his efforts have always gone beyond the immediate requirements of the job at hand. He has been examiner in English for the Province of Quebec, President of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers,\* Director of the National Council of Teachers of English (a U.S.-based professional group), President of the Canadian Association of Professors of Education, and has held many other such positions too numerous to list here. However, worth mentioning is that, in 1960-61, he served as Technical Advisor on Teacher Education to the Federal Government of Nigeria and, in 1961, was Secretary to the UNESCO Commission on the founding of the University of Lagos.

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\*I can't resist adding a footnote here. Wayne Hall held this important post while not even a teacher. When teachers elect a *supervisor* to their highest position of professional leadership, we have some measure of his ability to break the traditional barriers.

As Dean, Professor Hall's service has been exemplary and unique at McGill in recent times in the extent to which the development and coming-of-age of his Faculty has coincided with his incumbency. When he began in 1949 as Associate Professor in the School for Teachers at Macdonald College, there was essentially a single one-year program leading to low-level certificates. As he steps down as first Dean, the institution has grown from School, through Institute within the Faculty of Arts and Science, to a Faculty in its own right; it has increased its enrolment and staff at least tenfold; it has broadened the scope and quality of its many certificates, bachelor's and graduate programs; it has achieved an amalgamation with the St. Joseph Teachers' College, resulting in a single major center for English-language teacher education in Quebec; and it has established itself as one of McGill's large and successful Faculties in a new building on the downtown campus.

Undoubtedly, some of these developments would have taken place had someone else been at the helm. But, having lived through most of them as a member of the Faculty myself, I can't imagine them happening so effectively and with so little fanfare. Wayne has made it all seem so inevitable and almost automatic. Without his quiet leadership within the Faculty, his tact in the larger educational community, and his forceful advocacy for his Faculty within the University, these advances would not have come about so smoothly and successfully.

Wayne Hall doesn't look much different from the way he did in 1949 when I first met him — a bit greyer, perhaps, but no less trim or physically active. He plans to spend his well-deserved retirement in Lennoxville, Quebec, where he was born and educated and, if he accepts any responsibility for the development of his home town, I am sure that Lennoxville will benefit from his presence as we have done at McGill.



# *The Barefoot Dean . . .*

*With Apologies to William Wadsworth Longfellow*

*Blessings on thee, little Dean,  
C. Wayne Hall with eye so keen;  
With your budgets and your files  
And administrative wiles.  
Minutes, meetings, and reports,  
Crises met with fast retorts;  
"Come here!" "Do that!" they all said,  
Demands to fill an aching head.  
Can you now become tranquil  
Down in peaceful Lennoxville?*

*Will you sit beside the fire  
Releasing ten years' bottled ire?  
Will you pull weeds with commotion,  
Thinking notices of motion?  
When you prune your apple tree  
Are those budget cuts you'll see?  
When visitors all come in teams,  
Will you smile with silent screams?  
What can sugar-coat the pill  
Of Quiet Days in Lennoxville?*

*In retirement, will you find  
A new career for peace of mind?  
Will you write, to give life meaning,  
A book entitled "Fear of Deaning?"  
When they film "Godfather III"  
Is it you that we will see  
Running rum and brewing beer  
And selling grass both far and near;  
Making offers for the thrill,  
The smiling Don of Lennoxville?*

*We will not ask what you will do  
When your duties all are through,  
But we're prepared to guarantee  
You'll never lose your Faculty.  
We need no plaque upon the wall  
To tell us that we had a Hall,  
Who helped the Faculty to gain,  
To always wax and never Wayne.  
All here gathered hope you will  
Be fulfilled in Lennoxville.*



*'Twas the Night Before Christmas  
and All Through McGill...*

*'Twas the night before Christmas and all through McGill  
The typists were silent, the ditto was still.*

*A memo lay quietly in every box  
No clip was forgotten on the Xerox.*

*The bells were all muted, elevators worked fine,  
No amendments were moved in Room 129.*

*No committees in session, no meetings of core,  
No garbage bags strewn about at the front door.*

*The students were off to their games and their fun,  
The profs had all flown to their isles in the sun.*

*A single light glowed in the hushed deanery  
Casting shadows across the stark scenery.*

*The dean, on his sofa, was lying down  
As senates and budgets danced under his crown.*

*When out on McTavish he heard a strange noise  
Which jarred his reflection and rattled his poise.*

*He leaped to his feet and raced into the night  
And stopped, quite astounded, to behold such a sight.*

*The moon was reflected in the mire and the slush  
The potholes were filled with their muck and their mush.*

*Up the hill an old hansom cab creaked on and on,  
Pulled by radical students with visages drawn.*

*It stopped by the dean and out leaped a small man,  
Whose eyes had a twinkle but whose cheeks had no tan.*

Norman Henchey

*He was dressed in a turtleneck and some dirty old lees,  
And the beads on his neck hung right down to his knees.*

*A Ho Chi Minh beard adorned his pale chin,  
And he smiled at the dean with a big elfin grin.*

*"I think," said the dean, "that you must be lost."  
"Indeed," said the stranger, "I am Stanley B. Frost.*

*From the Planning Commission I've come to deliver  
Some gifts that will bless both receiver and giver.*

*For a Burgess named Don I propose that he start  
A Caribbean sabbatical with a Welbourne named Art.*

*For a Hilton named John I've a hundred loose-leafs  
Full of memos and studies and minutes and briefs.*

*For three magi wise, Franga, Harry, and Cran  
Some mark sheets and stat cards and a new garbage can.*

*To a gourmet named Bennett, some cheese by the block,  
Two pheasants, one duckling, and a roasted Peacock.*

*For McElroy's garden I have boxes of seed  
With more emergency teachers than he'll ever need.*

*For Lewis B. Birch, I have just what he seeks  
A little black box full of teaching techniques.*

*To Réal whose problems are sticky as toffee,  
A jar of caffein-free Maxwell House coffee.*

*Lest the energy crisis give Bob Pollard a shock,  
I'll give him a slate and a piece of white chalk.*

*To Jobling, McDonald, and Buteau and Jaques,  
Four of your chairmen who have what it takes,*

*To Wilkinson, Purdy, and Duncan, and Stutt,  
Whose departments are never caught up in a rut,*

*Francoeur, Smith, Harris, O'Hara and Tali,  
Whom no one will charge with a dilly or dally,*

*I'll double your budgets for staff and supplies,  
And provide twenty typists with dark Hazel eyes.*

*I'll carpet your offices and put in a fine bar,  
And you'll get a cool million to travel afar.*

*In the elevator hole we're installing a suite  
For Phil ever-present and always so neat.*

*'Twas the Night Before Christmas*

*And for you, my dear Wayne, the last but not least,  
Here is something to brighten your own Christmas feast.*

*Some powdered professors to add some decorum  
Just mix with some scotch and you've got a quorum.*

*Two bottles of acid as final resorts  
To shorten long-winded and rambling reports.*

*An aerosol can filled with strong laughing gas  
For profs who come asking for money en masse.*

*And, finally, pills well tested and proved  
To wake you as soon as adjournment is moved."*

*Having spread his largess, Stanley leaped in the cab  
And squeezing his Brylcream, gave his hair a quick dab.*

*He took up the reins and reached for his whip  
And dropping some acid, continued his trip.*

*As he moved up to Pine he turned round and said, "Well,  
I'm really convinced Education is swell."*

*Then all of a sudden he stood with a yell  
And said, "I forgot, I've a message from Bell,*

*Last time I saw him he told me to tell  
You and your Faculty all go to . . . Mont St. Hilaire."*

*Norman Henchey*



**George E. Flower**

## **“Do Pass the Potatoes, Henrik”**

Henrik Ibsen, the Norwegian playwright, was given to torrential discussion at his dinner table. At times, it is said, the waves of argument rose higher and higher, and disagreement grew so intense that Ibsen and his guests would all be speaking at once. At such times, Ibsen's wife had her own way of bringing them back to a sense of proportion. “Do pass the potatoes, Henrik,” she would say, in a gentle voice. And Ibsen, just as gently, would pass them.

Perhaps, at this stage in our educational development, it is time for someone to say, “Do pass the potatoes.”

Education has come a very long way in recent decades. Certainly this is abundantly true of the McGill Faculty of Education under Dean Wayne Hall and his colleagues; their record is outstanding. What now of the future?

A dozen years ago most of us were pretty confident about the future in education. John W. Gardner, as President of the Carnegie Corporation, had coined a much-quoted phrase when he referred to education as “the servant of all our purposes.” Canadians tended to look to their elementary, secondary, and post-secondary schools for solutions to virtually all their difficulties. Education luxuriated in the position of a favorite child in the competition for public funds. Expansion and expansiveness were the order of the day. Almost anything for education was regarded as a Good Thing.

Today the future isn't what it used to be. People have tried education, only to find that, in spite of much larger and more expensive educational efforts, our country — indeed our world — remains in a perpetual state of social, economic, and political crisis. Many people seem willing now to regard education not so much as "the servant of all our purposes" but as "the scapegoat for all our frustrations."

There is not much point in claiming foul, on the grounds that the enormous expectations held for schools and colleges and universities were unrealistic in the first place. There is not much point in saying don't blame the schools; were it not for the schools we would be in a much worse pickle than we are. Nor is there much point in trying to ignore the current disillusionment with education, dismissing it as a kind of generalized regressive behavior which people will grow out of and get over; we must grapple with it. We must also recognize that, in further contrast to recent decades, we now face projections of stand-pat or declining enrolments rather than expanding numbers. What shall our stance be? What initiatives shall we take? Must innovation dry up entirely and give way to painful retrenchment?

I do not believe so. I have great confidence in the future for education and in the prospects for faculties of education. I do believe, however, that we are clearly at the stage where we need to consider again what we are doing, how well we are doing it, and whether we are doing what we ought to be doing. These are tough questions, requiring tough answers on which it is never easy to agree. But for colleges and faculties of education surely an imperative for the future is to seize the opportunity to devote more of our energies to the continuing education of teachers rather than to satisfy ourselves largely with their initial preparation as we have in the past? Already dozens of voices among us are raised as to how to proceed, and in what directions. The problem is one of priorities. How shall we choose among them?

Please pass the potatoes, Henrik.

May B. Frith

# A Comparison of First and Second Language Learning

When Chomsky stated that “the problem of internal justification — of explanatory adequacy — is essentially the problem of constructing a theory of language acquisition, an account of the specific innate abilities that make this achievement possible”<sup>1</sup> he was highlighting one of the main areas of interest to transformational grammarians. This interest continues to be a central issue in psycholinguistics. In pursuing it, linguists and psycholinguists have gained new insights into the way a child acquires the ability to speak his first language (L1) and particularly into the development of the child’s grammatical system. In this paper I shall examine a number of L1 research studies in an attempt to discover whether the hypothesized similarity between L1 acquisition and second language (L2) learning has any empirical support. I shall then consider the question of age and language learning to see if there are actually any changes in learning ability, rate of learning and learning strategies as the individual grows older.

## is L1 like L2?

In recent years two major changes can be noted in the views expressed by researchers studying L1 acquisition. One is that linguists are now beginning to pay increasing attention to meaning. They now realize that the function of language in the life of the child is of paramount importance in his acquisition of his mother tongue (Bloom<sup>2</sup>, Schlesinger<sup>3</sup>, Parisi *et al.*<sup>4</sup>, Brown<sup>5</sup>). The second major change is that the mechanical S-R view that “practice makes perfect” has been abandoned because of abundant evidence from empirical studies showing that practice and imitation are of negligible importance in L1 development. In addition, it has been demonstrated that children who have never learned to speak can nevertheless have a highly developed comprehension of language. I shall return to these two points later.

Studies of L1 acquisition have grown rapidly in recent years and have undergone other important theoretical changes. For instance, early studies viewed child language as an incomplete form of adult speech which gradually developed into the "correct" adult grammar through a process of selective reinforcement. However, the re-examination of L1 acquisition in the light of transformational grammar has shown that child language is self-contained, internally consistent, systematic, and does not depend on the full adult system. The child's mind is not *tabula rasa*. Furthermore he does not simply imitate adult speech incorrectly, but is actually an active learner who structures the input and creates rules of his own that are simpler than those of the adult grammar. This the child does without the help of explicit teaching, positive reinforcement of correct structures, or corrections of incorrect structures (Burt and Dulay<sup>6</sup>). Reinforcement plays a strong role in the S-R theory of language acquisition, but research has shown that mothers rarely spend much time and effort in correcting their children's grammar, especially that of two-year-olds. Brown, Cazden and Bellugi<sup>7</sup> examined mother-child interaction for two kinds of reinforcement in relation to development: corrections, and failures to understand. They found no relationship between developmental rates and reinforcement. The mothers in this study very rarely corrected formal syntactic structures. Instead they corrected mistakes in content or truth value.

The researchers state:

It seems, then, to be the truth value rather than syntactic well-formedness that chiefly governs explicit verbal reinforcement by parents — which renders mildly paradoxical the fact that the usual product of such a training schedule is an adult whose speech is highly grammatical but not notably truthful.<sup>8</sup>

Apparently adults listening to children's speech are usually more interested in the message than in the form in which it is conveyed. The evidence shows that they are concerned with formal syntax only if it includes lexical items such as obscenities and other socially marked expressions. In this respect the typical L2 learner, whether child or adult, stands in sad contrast to the L1 learner. Macnamara's<sup>9</sup> theory of the supremacy of meaning in language learning underscores this contrast clearly:

The argument rests upon the nature of language and its relation to thought . . . The theory claims that the main thrust in language learning comes from the child's need to understand and express himself . . . The teacher seldom has anything to say to his pupils so important that they will eagerly guess his meaning. And the pupils seldom have anything so urgent to say to the teacher that they will improvise with whatever communicative skills they possess to get their meaning across. If my analysis of infant language learning is correct, and I believe it to be, it can surely explain the difference between the street and the classroom without placing any serious strain on the analogy between first and second language learning.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to recent developments in psycholinguistic research, observations of the fact that L1 acquisition is successful, "virtually fool-proof," (Stern<sup>11</sup>) and L2 learning is not, have led to a re-examination of the relationship between the process of acquiring a first language and that of L2 learning. All this has resulted in the general conclusion that the two processes are basically similar but that methods of L2 teaching have not capitalized on the similarities.

Burt and Dulay<sup>12</sup> maintain that like L1 acquisition, L2 learning is also a "creative construction" process in which learners, both children and adults, try to construct the language as they learn it and create rules similar to those created by children learning their native language. This approach supports the hypothesis-testing model of L1 acquisition (Chomsky<sup>13</sup>, McNeill<sup>14</sup>). In this framework, the child is seen to be making a series of hypotheses about the structure of his native language as he learns it. Each successive hypothesis is an interim grammar which accounts for the data he is exposed to. These developmental stages have been thoroughly explored in longitudinal L1 studies over the past twenty years. These studies have reached a high degree of descriptive adequacy, and some explanatory adequacy has been achieved by various attempts to show the order of acquisition of certain aspects of the language such as negation, grammatical morphemes, rules and exceptions.

A good illustration of the "stages" model of L1 learning can be found in the work of Klima and Bellugi<sup>15</sup> on the acquisition of negation in English:

STAGE 1: The negator is external to the sentence — "no singing song,"  
"no the sun shining," "touch the snow no."

STAGE 2: The negative element is internal, preceding the predicate  
— "he no bite you," "I no taste them," "that no Mommy."

STAGE 3: Here the use of modals, copula and do-support appears—  
"I don't want cover on it," "you didn't caught me," "Paul  
can't have one."<sup>16</sup>

It is obvious that at stage three, the two-and-a-half year old child whose sentences are quoted above is using a common rule which applies to modals, copulas and "do." This enables him to simplify matters considerably. But the most important point to note here is that, at this stage, all three children in the study also began to use general patterns in interrogative inversion and ellipsis which demonstrated the presence of the auxiliary as a common underlying unit in their grammar.

Theories of imitation and reinforcement cannot account for these data. For instance, a careful examination of the corpus reveals that the children used a common pattern for three different sentence types; equating sentences, main verb sentences, and modals. This

must clearly be based on a kind of class abstraction which was quite well developed by stage three. Furthermore, while it is possible to find an underlying semantic unity in children's usage of noun phrases and locative phrases, the auxiliary "do" in the sentence "Do you like milk?" has no overt meaning. This semantically empty but syntactically indispensable morpheme has to be acquired without reference to events in the real world or to internal meanings. Its use by the children in this study shows that at this point in the acquisition of their native language they were able to deal very effectively with formal, abstract representations.

Ravem<sup>17</sup> gives an interesting account of the development of the auxiliary by his six-year-old Norwegian-speaking son learning English in a natural setting in Scotland. In learning the system of negation in English, Ravem's son, Rune, followed a developmental sequence similar to the children in the Klima and Bellugi study examined above. In addition, Ravem states that Rune did not invert the subject and the auxiliary in *wh* questions where inversion would be redundant. The McNeill's<sup>18</sup> and Milon<sup>19</sup> have reported a similar development in Japanese children learning English. McNeill and McNeill conclude that "the emergence of negation in English as well as in Japanese is a portrait of a child's resolution of complexity" and Milon states:

The developmental stages for three native speakers of English and a second language learner occur in exactly the same sequence and within almost exactly identical syntactic parameters as with Klima and Bellugi's subjects.<sup>20</sup>

In addition, studies of children learning the following first languages all suggest a universality of basic stages and processes: Russian, Samoan, Finnish, and several Mayan languages.

Since longitudinal studies of L2 learning are lacking, a "stage" theory of this process does not have empirical support; obviously, results from L1 studies should not be uncritically applied to adults learning a second language. However, one ongoing L2 study (Hatch<sup>21</sup>) offers some encouragement to those who hypothesize a similar developmental sequence for adult L2 learning as in L1. It is possible that an approach which treats the stages through which the learner progresses as self-contained will be as fruitful in L2 learning theory as it has been in the case of L1.

Acceptance of the hypothesis-testing or "creative construction" model for L2 learning would involve a rejection of the "habit formation" theory which underlies the audio-lingual method, and the adoption of a cognitive code-learning theory (Burt and Dulay<sup>22</sup>). Such a change in theoretical orientation should lead to a re-examination of many existing L2 teaching programs to include more meaningful learning of the language in situationally appropriate contexts, with emphasis on the development of communicative com-

petence in the target language from the very beginning. Thus students would not be drilled from the outset in the production of perfectly grammatical but situationally inappropriate and semantically empty sentences. Anyone who is currently involved in learning a second language in a classroom can testify to the prominence of these old and unproductive techniques. Although such terms as "situational language teaching," "the language experience approach," and "the thematic integrated approach" are frequently discussed in books and articles on L2 teaching, and although L2 theorists and writers of methods texts constantly stress the importance of eclecticism, the fact is, the majority of teachers of adults and adolescents are still using the audio-lingual method. It is also true that the creators of many "audio-visual" teaching materials have simply added pictures to what was originally audio-lingual in theory and construction.

As mentioned above, L1 acquisition studies have tended to show that practice does not necessarily make perfect. Ervin-Tripp<sup>23</sup> demonstrated that the children in her study had correctly learned irregular past forms like *came* and *did*, and had used them correctly a number of times, yet, when they started to produce regular past forms, they overgeneralized the irregular forms to *comed* and *doed* in spite of previous practice. She concluded: "Apparently patterns weigh more heavily with children than frequency of repetition does."<sup>24</sup> If this insight is applied to L2 learning, the injunction of Lado that "the student must be engaged in practice most of the time"<sup>25</sup> would have to be seriously re-examined by textbook writers and L2 teachers who are still influenced by it. If practice and over-learning are as unproductive in L2 learning as in L1, and I believe they are, then the teacher might do well to devote less time to the monotonous practising of syntactic structures with no informational sequence, and devise techniques and exercises to help L2 students perceive, internalize, and use the patterns of the language to express their own meanings.

Another important but somewhat undeveloped area of L1 acquisition research is comprehension. Studies of comprehension provide evidence for the hypothesis that understanding precedes production; children do seem to comprehend speech long before they begin to speak. There is some evidence for the assumption that speech is not necessary to language acquisition. Lenneberg's<sup>26</sup> report of an anarthric child (one who did not produce speech yet developed normal comprehension of it) makes the point very strongly. This child passed all the rigidly controlled comprehension tests devised and administered by Lenneberg. Also the implication of the morphological development in the learning of Russian as a native language<sup>27</sup> is unquestionably that neither the most frequently heard structures nor the most frequently produced forms remain dominant

during early development. However, the hypothesis is that specific grammatical features are understood before they are produced. One reason for this may be that while the listener can listen "with half an ear" and depend on redundancy to aid his comprehension, the speaker has to make explicit choices if he wants to be understood. Fraser, Bellugi and Brown<sup>28</sup> developed a technique known as ICP (Imitation, Comprehension, Production) to investigate this hypothesis. The findings from their experiments seem to indicate that semantic complexity and cognitive immaturity are the constraints on production during the early stages of L1 development. The work of Sinclair-de-Zwart<sup>29</sup> on the acquisition of French passives by somewhat older Swiss children replicate these findings.

This seems to suggest that the greater cognitive maturity of the adolescent and adult L2 learner should be capitalized on. Ervin-Tripp<sup>30</sup> states:

Languages tend to have similar semantic content. By and large, the major changes we find in the acquisition of the mother tongue with age are related to semantic development.<sup>31</sup>

It seems reasonable to suggest then, that since the adult has a more highly developed semantic system than the child, he/she merely needs to discover a new symbolic representation. When learning a second language there will obviously be mistakes in areas where there are semantic differences, but these should be relatively unimportant when compared to the task faced by a child learning his native language at a similar stage of syntactic development.

## **age and language learning**

Chomsky<sup>32</sup>, Lenneberg<sup>33</sup>, McNeill<sup>34</sup>, and others have argued persuasively that the human being is innately suited to learning languages. At the same time, many arguments have been advanced to account for sharp age changes in language learning ability as well as in lateralization related to linguistic functions after traumatic aphasia. One well known suggestion is that there is a "critical period" for L1 acquisition. With regard to L2 learning, the literature on age can be divided into two main classifications: theory and experimental research.

The theoretical support comes from inferences drawn from psychological and physiological investigation. One example is the brain plasticity theory (Penfield and Roberts<sup>35</sup>, Asher and Garcia<sup>36</sup>). According to this theory, the younger child has a "cerebral receptivity" to language acquisition which may be due to lack of cortical specialization. As the child matures, the organization of the cerebral cortex becomes more specialized, and the individual's capacity to learn a second language tends to decrease.

Lenneberg<sup>37</sup>, summarizing case histories of brain damage with aphasia, infers a physiological age limitation for normal *first language* acquisition. Nowhere does he suggest (as is often stated) that adults are incapable of acquiring a second language. He maintains that age seems to influence most the retention of a foreign accent and the ability to learn a foreign language just from exposure in the natural setting. Asher and Garcia<sup>38</sup> suggested that the child's language facility in the natural setting may be due to the physically active play contexts in which the learning takes place, whereas the situation is quite different in the case of adults.

There is no experimental evidence to support the theory that the ability to learn a second language decreases with age. A comprehensive examination of the literature has revealed no study offering unequivocal evidence that the child has a special language learning competency absent in the adult, or that the younger adult is superior to the older. To a certain extent adults were slightly more proficient than children in two studies conducted by Asher and Price<sup>39</sup> and by Yeni-Komishan *et al.*<sup>40</sup> Their findings substantiate Ausubel's<sup>41</sup> theory that adults can acquire new languages more readily than children because children's cognitive immaturity and lack of certain intellectual skills preclude many approaches that are feasible for adults.

Thus it appears that an important difference between children learning their first language and adults learning a second language is the contextual support for the learning. Although it is obvious that the contexts for L1 acquisition cannot be duplicated in L2 learning, if adults learn a second language in settings which offer opportunities for frequent meaningful communication, the rate and quality of L2 learning might even prove greater than L1 acquisition. In cases where adults have been unsuccessful in learning a second language it may well be that they lack the motivational and attitudinal characteristics which Gardner and Lambert<sup>42</sup> and H. Douglas Brown<sup>43</sup> have found to be conducive to successful L2 learning. For instance, it would be useful to study the effect of inhibition on adult L2 learning — particularly culturally induced inhibition in certain environments. It might well be possible to show that the adverse effects of this particular variable are greater than is commonly thought.

It is true, however, that a child learning his native language acquires the pronunciation of the regional and social dialect to which he is exposed while this is rarely the case with the adult learning a second language. Here again personality and ability, as well as physiological variables might all be at work to some degree. Theorizing in this area far outweighs supporting research. There is, however, little reason to believe and ample evidence to disprove the assertion that pronunciation is an indication of special language

competence — communication is certainly possible without perfect pronunciation. The redundancies inherent in language are such that mispronunciation and a “foreign accent” are the least handicaps to communication. People like Henry Kissinger might still speak English “with an accent” but no one can doubt Kissinger’s ability to communicate effectively in the language.

We realize, however, that some theoretical rationale had been offered for treating first and second language learning as different. According to this view, L2 learning is based on transfer from the first language and so can tell us nothing more general about language learning (Bever and Weskel<sup>44</sup>). It is certainly correct that the L2 learner uses previous knowledge, skills and strategies, but this is equally true of the child learning his native language. In other words, any learning must make use of previous knowledge although it remains to be explained just how this is done. It seems obvious that the young child of eighteen months or two years learning his mother tongue possesses some general knowledge of his immediate environment, of spatial orientation and of causality which a child of one has not yet developed. Piaget’s work offers experimental support here. Similarly, a child of four, hearing a completely new sentence, can bring to it awareness of sound groupings, recognition of familiar patterns, expectations about basic syntax-meaning configurations which the child of one does not have (Ervin-Tripp<sup>45</sup>).

Thus the fact that the L2 learner builds on previously acquired concepts is not what differentiates L2 learning from L1 acquisition. The parallelism between L1 and L2 will be carried too far if the following factors are not taken into consideration:

- the cognitive maturity of the older L2 learner
- the differences in learning contexts
- affective variables relevant to the adolescent and adult L2 learner.

Failure to recognize these differences can lead to an oversimplification of the issues involved in the learning process, to the detriment of the learner.

Finally, to return to Chomsky’s<sup>46</sup> innateness hypothesis with which this paper began — if the human brain is particularly suited for language learning, there is no good reason to suppose, other things being equal, that this ability would atrophy after the acquisition of L1. Given a high degree of integrative motivation on the part of the learner, plus the use of methods and materials to suit his interest and needs, the adult L2 learner could be involved in a very satisfying process, resulting in his ability to communicate effectively with people of other linguistic and cultural groups.

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Agathe Martin and H el ene Mignault

# Enseigner le fran ais comme langue seconde:

plus qu'un d efi,  
une responsabilit e

La question de l'enseignement du fran ais comme langue seconde au Qu ebec est pr esentement une question des plus pertinentes. En effet, doit-on faire une distinction entre le fait d'enseigner une langue seconde (ou  trang ere) quelle qu'elle soit et o u que l'on se trouve et le fait d'enseigner le fran ais comme langue seconde dans le contexte qu eb ecois actuel? Une langue doit-elle n ecessairement se rattacher  a une culture?

## apprendre une langue

Il est bien  vident qu'on peut apprendre les rudiments d'une langue seconde (ou  trang ere) n'importe o u, c'est- a-dire dans n'importe quel pays   travers le monde. Cet apprentissage, que nous appellerons "apprentissage scolaire" fournit   l' tudiant une s erie de structures de base, un vocabulaire essentiel rattach e   des exp eriences communes   toute exp erience humaine, de m eme qu'une s erie d' quivalences linguistiques lui permettant de traduire tant bien que mal dans une autre langue que la sienne sa propre r ealit e, sa propre exp erience, son propre milieu culturel (ce que Jacobson appelle la fonction r ef erentielle, cognitive ou d enotative du langage)<sup>1</sup>.

Or, cet apprentissage se trouve fatalement limit e puisqu'il est coup e de cet  l ement qui fait vivre une langue et lui permet d' voluer: la culture. D es le moment o u l'on admet qu'une langue doit servir   une communication r elle, c'est- a-dire un  change v ritable entre deux interlocuteurs; que, par ailleurs, elle ne peut exister qu'artificiellement en milieu scolaire sans rapport direct avec la culture qui la nourrit, on est  galement forc e d'admettre que le seul moyen de faire passer une langue du stade passif de connaissance au stade actif, d'instrument, c'est d'accompagner l'apprentissage scolaire d'une exp erience civilisationnelle. Car, en somme, une connaissance ne retourne   la vie qu'  partir du moment o u elle  largit la conscience

du réel. Cette opération débouche nécessairement sur un milieu, sur une collectivité, bref, un vécu social, politique et culturel.

## apprendre le français comme langue seconde au Québec

A l'heure actuelle, plusieurs raisons incitent les anglophones du Québec à apprendre le français. Citons les plus répandues :

- il est maintenant indispensable de parler français si l'on veut demeurer au Québec et y travailler;
- on risque d'être limité dans l'exercice d'une profession si l'on n'arrive pas à maîtriser la langue devenue officielle;
- le Canada est un pays bilingue, la deuxième langue pour un anglophone étant donc le français;
- le français est une langue très utile si l'on veut voyager outre-mer;
- c'est le seul moyen qui permette de participer activement à la vie culturelle francophone du Québec.

Néanmoins, peu importent les raisons et le degré de motivation de chacun, il n'en reste pas moins vrai que le français est appelé à devenir *fonctionnel*, c'est-à-dire, à répondre à certains objectifs précis et concrets, car, en définitive, apprendre une langue, c'est maîtriser un instrument et *s'en servir*. C'est d'ailleurs dans ce sens que s'est développée ces dernières années la pédagogie des langues; avec les différentes méthodes audio-visuelles, la pratique de la langue a pris de plus en plus le pas sur la théorie, l'étudiant devenant ainsi un agent de son propre apprentissage. Cette nouvelle orientation, axée sur la pratique ou "l'instrumentalité" d'une langue, engage les professeurs de français à se poser certaines questions fondamentales. En effet, sommes-nous en mesure de répondre adéquatement à tous ces objectifs?

## enseigner le français comme langue seconde au Québec

La situation du professeur qui enseigne le français aux anglophones n'est pas aussi simple qu'on pourrait le croire. S'il veut être honnête, il ne peut exercer son métier impunément, ni surtout sans s'interroger tant soit peu sur le sens de son enseignement. C'est répéter un truisme que de dire que la société québécoise évolue très rapidement; par conséquent, comme la langue est le véhicule sinon le reflet d'une réalité sociale, le problème de la langue parlée et écrite n'a jamais été aussi crucial (en témoignent les numéros spéciaux de revues comme *Etudes françaises*, février '74, et *Maintenant*, avril '73, qui contiennent à ce sujet des bibliographies importantes).

Les Québécois francophones réfléchissent depuis longtemps à cette question (la fondation de la Société du Bon Parler Français au Canada remonte aussi loin qu'à 1902) mais jamais cette réflexion n'a été aussi nourrie, aussi importante qu'actuellement. Les articles de Lysiane Gagnon sur la crise de l'enseignement du français parus dans *La Presse* en avril 1975<sup>2</sup> et les nombreuses réactions que ces articles ont suscitées en font état. L'enseignement de la langue française, qui ne peut bien sûr s'exercer en vase clos, en subit inévitablement les effets et le professeur de langues est forcé de tenir compte d'un débat qui, il y a quelques années, ne l'atteignait presque pas. D'ailleurs s'il s'attarde à considérer les motivations de ses étudiants, il aura vite fait de se rendre compte qu'elles sont d'une grande diversité, souvent complémentaires et parfois divergentes: parler français afin de pouvoir voyager et éventuellement faire partie du corps diplomatique canadien dans n'importe quelle partie du monde; comprendre et communiquer dans leur langue avec les francophones de Montréal ou de la Baie de James lorsqu'on remplit un emploi de camionneur ou de contremaître (objectifs définis textuellement par deux étudiants d'une même section du cours 401D "Functional French" en septembre 1974). Ces objectifs sont typiques et constituent déjà en soi une formulation du problème. Que faire devant des buts aussi différents, voire même opposés?

### **communiquer: avec les Français et/ou les Québécois?**

Si une langue seconde ne peut être vraiment *utilisée* que dans un contexte réel de communication, c'est-à-dire "en situation," il importe de démystifier cette conception élitiste du fait français en détruisant toutes ces images que la plupart des anglophones continuent à associer avec toute culture d'expression française. En effet, bien que l'on vive dans un cadre social nord-américain, lequel diffère considérablement et à plusieurs points de vue du contexte européen, les manuels scolaires en usage dans les écoles primaires, secondaires et les collèges continuent de présenter aux étudiants des réalités étrangères auxquelles ils sont incapables d'associer leur propre vécu: Les Champs Elysées, le musée du Louvre, la Sorbonne, les lycées, les bistrotts, le grand salon du château de Combourg, Christian Dior . . . etc., etc. Et l'on s'étonne qu'après dix ans ou plus d'étude du français, les étudiants n'arrivent toujours pas à "parler" cette langue et l'identifient encore à des clichés tels que la beauté, l'art, la vaste culture et la haute couture, les grands parfums et les fromages parfumés au kirsch, en somme à la sophistication et au raffinement sous toutes ses formes, clichés correspondant à des réalités pour eux lointaines et souvent inaccessibles. Or, comme ces images sont impressionnantes pour ne pas dire exotiques, elles con-

fèrent à la langue qui est appelée à les traduire les mêmes caractéristiques, ce qui en fait, pour ceux qui tentent de l'apprendre, quelque chose d'irréel sinon d'inabordable. Par conséquent, si l'on veut éviter cette approche qui vide la langue de son contenu émotif et la réduit à un ensemble de mots dont l'usage est tout à fait factice, *on doit nécessairement l'inscrire dans un cadre social et culturel concret et directement accessible.*

D'autre part, il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'une même langue peut être appelée à traduire plusieurs contextes ou milieux culturels distincts voire même très éloignés les uns des autres. L'espagnol, par exemple, est parlé au Mexique, en Amérique du Sud et en Amérique Centrale aussi bien qu'en Espagne. Il en est de même pour le français qui est en usage dans plusieurs pays à travers le monde. Le professeur de langue doit donc faire en sorte que son enseignement permette à ses étudiants dont les motivations diffèrent de rejoindre le plus grand nombre de gens qui s'expriment en français (ce que Hymes appelle la compétence de communication). Il doit également tenir compte aussi bien du niveau de langage que du vocabulaire et des expressions idiomatiques propres à différentes régions et/ou classes sociales. Pour ce faire, l'instructeur de langues doit être assez polyvalent pour fournir à ses étudiants tout un éventail ou registre de mots et d'équivalences.

S'il y a une norme à respecter, elle ne se situe pas au niveau des choix lexicaux mais au niveau des structures fondamentales du français, c'est-à-dire la place des mots dans une phrase, le temps des verbes et leur concordance ainsi que toute la gamme des relatifs, des conjonctions et prépositions servant à établir un lien et une dépendance entre les différentes unités linguistiques. Toute acquisition lexicale doit être insérée dans cette structure de base sans pour autant affecter ou modifier la texture propre à la langue française.

## **enseigner le français au Québec: un défi à relever**

Dans un cours de conversation avancée, par exemple, le professeur doit amener l'étudiant à exprimer son vécu (pensée ou sentiments) en français international *et* en langue québécoise si celui-ci le désire, *aussi clairement et avec une justesse égale dans les deux cas.* Il doit donc maîtriser et savoir jongler avec trois langues simultanément: *la langue anglaise* (dépistage des erreurs, identification de leurs causes et mise au point de techniques préventives et/ou correctives), *la langue française* (traduction des anglicismes, interprétation en français international) et *la langue québécoise* (connaissance du lexique et des expressions québécoises, passage d'une formule internationale à une nouvelle formulation qui traduit le vécu d'ici).

Devant cette triple exigence, les professeurs de français langue seconde constatent souvent leurs lacunes. Peu d'entre eux finalement

sont r eellement capables d'effectuer rapidement et avec suffisamment d'exactitude ces trois op erations, tous  tant, peu importe leur origine, handicap s   certains  gards. Ceux d'origine qu eb coise conna tront en g n ral l'anglais et deviendront, de ce fait, sensibles aux calques et aux anglicismes que font leurs  tudiants mais ils ne pourront r eagir rapidement et les traduire en fran ais que s'ils sont eux-m mes capables d'exercer un discernement exact en mati re linguistique et capables d'op rer pour eux-m mes la conversion qui s'impose.  tant donn  les conditions  conomiques et culturelles dans lesquelles se maintient l'existence du fran ais au Qu bec, ces op rations ne sont souvent possibles chez les enseignants d'origine qu eb coise qu'  l'int rieur d'un processus de r flexion critique sur leur propre langue comme sur celle du milieu, et qu'avec une connaissance d taill e de la langue fran aise acquise assez souvent par l' tude ou la scolarisation.

Les enseignants europ ens ou d'origine nord-africaine conna tront le handicap inverse: ils sauront intuitivement rep rer avec exactitude les fautes des anglophones, les traduire en fran ais international, mais souvent, leur m connaissance de l'anglais les emp chera de fournir cette analyse comparative des deux langues qui leur permettrait d'adapter leur enseignement   leur public. Quant   la traduction du v cu de l'anglophone d'ici en langue qu eb coise, les enseignants naturalis s ou en voie de l' tre accuseront certaines lacunes, surtout au niveau avanc ,  tant donn  les difficult s qu'ils  prouvent   l'effectuer pour eux-m mes. Ils doivent alors eux aussi suppl er par l' tude (et il va sans dire un contact plus  troit avec le milieu culturel d'ici)   leur m connaissance de la langue qu eb coise ou plus simplement du donn  culturel ou civilisationnel.

Seule cette mobilit  linguistique qui conditionne l'enseignement du fran ais au Qu bec peut permettre au professeur de langue d'exercer ad quatement son m tier. En plus d'une formation p dagogique et linguistique solide, ce trilinguisme en quelque sorte nous semble constituer une forme de comp tence qui rend possible l'adaptation de l'enseignement   la client le (surtout au niveau avanc ) et aux conditions particuli res de l' volution du fran ais en milieu qu eb cois.

## langue fran aise et/ou langue qu eb coise?

D'aucuns pourront critiquer ces exigences et contester une telle conception de la comp tence du professeur de fran ais langue seconde, all guant que la langue qu'il s'agit d'enseigner est *la fran aise*, qu'il s'agit de faire acqu rir et r utiliser les structures fondamentales ainsi que le lexique et les expressions idiomatiques les plus courants afin d'assurer une communication   l' chelle internationale. Nous ne r cusons pas cette conception dans la mesure o  elle ne se

veut pas restrictive ou exclusive. Nous croyons que s'il importe de pouvoir communiquer avec les millions d'usagers de la langue française à travers le monde, il importe également de parler une langue dans un contexte situationnel, c'est-à-dire dans un milieu donné, à l'intérieur d'une communauté linguistique particulière. B. Quemada écrivait d'ailleurs qu'il faut "accorder une place préférentielle au français *en situation motivante*, et en premier lieu, à la civilisation qui s'élabore sous nos yeux."<sup>3</sup>

Nous sommes persuadées que ces deux objectifs n'ont pas à s'exclure et peuvent, au contraire, coexister harmonieusement. Au niveau avancé surtout, l'enseignant, s'étant assuré que la structure de phrase de ses étudiants est parfaitement française aussi bien à l'oral qu'à l'écrit, se doit de leur offrir le registre lexical le plus étendu possible afin de leur permettre de comprendre et reconnaître le plus grand nombre de mots et expressions possibles (ceci aussi bien en français international et métropolitain qu'en québécois); il doit de plus leur permettre d'en distinguer le niveau et le contexte exact afin qu'ils puissent réutiliser ceux qu'ils voudront quand et avec qui ils le jugeront à propos (des pommes de terre frites, des pommes frites, des patates frites; elle est snob, elle est collet monté, elle se prend pour une autre).

Il s'agit donc *d'une ouverture*, la plus large possible, aux réalités linguistiques de la francophonie mondiale auxquelles les étudiants sont ou pourraient éventuellement être exposés, mais *d'une ouverture éclairée*, où chaque élément lexical, chaque idiotisme doit être identifié, remis à sa place en fonction d'un objectif fonctionnel de réutilisation. Cependant, là ne se limite pas le rôle de l'enseignant à notre avis. Ce dernier doit prendre conscience des rapports d'opposition entre le descriptif et le normatif, entre l'information linguistique et le précepte linguistique. Si un étudiant déclare: "J'ai travaillé dans une manufacture cet été et à la fin du mois d'août, j'ai été clairé" et qu'on fait en sorte qu'il ne connaisse et n'utilise *que* "congédié" ou "mis à la porte" exclusivement, on privilégie un certain niveau de langue, on impose un certain contexte à *l'exclusion* d'un autre, on choisit à l'intérieur d'une vaste série lexicale un mot considéré comme normatif.

Ex: j'ai été ...

niveau relevé	licencié remercié (limogé)	} F Q			
niveau neutre	congédié renvoyé	} F Q	mis à la porte	—	F Q
niveau populaire	*saqué *balancé	} F	*foutu à la porte *jeté " " "	}	F Q

niveau populaire (suite)	*vid��	—	F	Q	*flanqu�� �� la porte	}	Q
	*clair��	}	F	Q	*sacr�� " " "		
	*slacqu��				*criss�� " " "		

\*: Connotation   motive

F: France

Q: Qu  bec

Or, si l'on examine cette s  rie lexicale et la structure dans laquelle elle s'ins  re, il faut bien constater:

1. que la langue famili  re ou populaire en usage aussi bien au Qu  bec qu'en France a   t   compl  tement   cart  e de l'enseignement;
2. que le choix de l'enseignement (d  terminant par la suite celui de l'  tudiant) s'est limit      deux mots consid  r  s comme corrects et donc recommandables, sur une vingtaine de possibilit  s;
3. que le niveau choisi   limine compl  tement l'expression des   motions ou des sentiments (d  p  t, col  re, m  pris, rage . . . etc.);
4. que dans le contexte de la phrase formul  e par l'  tudiant, le mot et l'expression propos  s op  rent la censure d'un anglicisme, certes, mais   galement d'un niveau de langue (et par le fait m  me d'un contexte social) populaire pour y substituer un niveau sup  rieur (pr  sent   comme correct et recommandable) plus proche finalement du niveau relev   que du niveau familier;
5. que l'anglicisme "clair  " (ou   ventuellement "slacqu  ") est d'ordre lexical et s'ins  re donc dans une structure qui reste parfaitement fran  aise.

Dans un contexte socio-culturel o   la phrase fran  aise est de plus en plus influenc  e par l'anglais, il importe bien s  r, de d  pister les anglicismes et de les neutraliser en op  rant la conversion qui s'impose. (L'usage de ces anglicismes n'est d'ailleurs pas l'effet du hasard; il est le signe ind  niable des conditions socio-  conomiques dans lesquelles   volue le Qu  b  cois parlant fran  ais et donc le fran  ais au Qu  bec, ce qui explique que l'anglais ne subisse par la m  me contamination.) L'op  ration de conversion ne devrait pourtant pas devenir en fait *une op  ration de censure* qui vise    occulter, en faveur d'un niveau choisi, sanctionn   et consacr   par l'Acad  mie, l'  l  ment le plus dynamique d'une langue: l'usage, qui "en dit souvent davantage sur les relations affectives, professionnelles et sociales (actuelles et futures) des interlocuteurs que le contenu de la conversation."<sup>4</sup>

Ce n'est par cons  quent qu'   partir du moment o   l'enseignant, tenant compte de la dispersion g  ographique aussi bien que des diff  rents niveaux de langage, effectue une v  ritable *description* de la langue en indiquant la place, le contexte et toutes les implications sociales et   motives d'un registre de mots ou d'expressions, qu'il donne    l'  tudiant la possibilit   de *choisir, en toute connaissance de cause*. Il lui permet ainsi de choisir non seulement *les mots ou expres-*

sions qu'il désire utiliser mais, par le fait même, *les milieux et les interlocuteurs* à qui il désire s'adresser.

## la langue comme institution

Toute démarche opposée qui tend à éliminer le registre ou à le limiter consciemment pose en fait le problème de la norme, lequel débordé largement le seul domaine linguistique. Ce faisant, l'enseignant implique tacitement que toute la production linguistique se réduit à une seule donnée (ce qui constitue en soi une exactitude du point de vue scientifique de même qu'une imposture sinon une mystification). N'insister que sur le seul code commun, c'est nécessairement nier tous les facteurs qui expliquent la création et l'usage des mots, tels la culture, le rang social, l'âge, le contexte socio-économique et culturel des usagers d'une langue, lesquels facteurs font apparaître toutes les variantes qu'on y trouve et en font un système dynamique ainsi qu'un véritable instrument de communication.

C'est également renforcer l'aspect de la codification de la langue et contribuer à mieux masquer son côté institutionnel. Or, s'il est évident que la langue est, au même titre que toutes les autres, une institution qui illustre le pouvoir d'une certaine classe, l'enseignant, reconnaissant ce fait, peut ou non le signaler comme tel à l'occasion même de son enseignement. La disparition de la série lexicale, la réduction à un seul terme présenté comme un absolu entraînent le triomphe du normatif sur le descriptif, du précepte sur l'information linguistique, le professeur se faisant juge et contrôleur plutôt qu'informateur et témoin. Il devient ainsi responsable de cette utilisation de la langue comme instrument de domination plutôt que de communication, car n'utiliser que certaines formes choisies à l'intérieur d'un certain registre choisi constitue sans aucun doute l'exercice d'un pouvoir. Par conséquent, la norme devient pour l'enseignant le moyen d'opérer la récupération des classes inférieures et leur assimilation idéologique aux classes supérieures, tout en renforçant du même coup la stratification sociale existante hors du milieu scolaire. Le professeur de français langue seconde *ne peut donc dans ce cas prétendre à la neutralité* ou à l'innocence, surtout au niveau avancé, car sa vision normative constitue en somme un processus d'intégration à la classe dominante.

Nous considérons donc qu'il est important que le professeur de langues démasque ce pouvoir en établissant clairement le registre qui fait apparaître, à l'intérieur même du discours linguistique, ces différences de classes. Les signaler, en identifiant bien le terme international *comme tous les autres*, sans favoriser aucune forme au détriment d'une autre (ce que le locuteur pourra bien faire lui-même pour des raisons personnelles de communication) nous semble à la fois la seule position scientifiquement et intellectuellement honnête en ce

qu'elle respecte les libertés individuelles et définit le rôle et les responsabilités socio-politiques de l'enseignant.

Bref, la polyvalence, pensons-nous, en signalant les rapports de force véhiculés par la langue, est le seul point de vue pédagogique qui permette de signaler le pouvoir institutionnel de la langue. Une fois le terme d'usage international identifié, le jugement de valeur, la hiérarchie en ce qui concerne l'utilisation et la définition de la norme ne peuvent être le fait que de l'étudiant qui doit avoir *entière liberté de réagir* face à la langue comme institution. Celle qu'il choisira d'utiliser pourra tout aussi bien devenir un outil de communication qu'un instrument de domination, mais le professeur de langues ne devrait avoir aucune responsabilité quant à ce choix.

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Jack K. Campbell

## Colonel Parker's New Woman and the New Education

The marriage in 1882 of Mary Frances Stuart and Colonel Francis W. Parker symbolized the union of the feminist movement with that of educational reform. History has somehow overlooked the impact of the woman's movement on the progressive transformation of the schools during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but the liberation of women and children from the bondage of tradition was a common struggle. Some of the educational and social theories of Colonel Parker, acknowledged father of the movement which would be called Progressive Education, were inspired by his New Woman. Moreover, the refinement of his ideas rested largely on Mrs. Parker's artistic genius, and the political support so necessary for their implementation depended to a considerable degree on her connections with women's organizations. As queen of such clubs, Mrs. Parker was the trump in the power play for the Colonel's educational aims. She represents the forgotten half, and perhaps the better half, of the conception and birth of Progressive Education.

### I

To be sure, the Colonel had made his mark on educational reform with the "Quincy System" before he met his New Woman, but the "new education" was only half conceived and poorly articulated. Parker himself said there was no Quincy method or system unless one agreed to call it a method or system of everlasting change.<sup>1</sup> When he began his work as superintendent of schools in Quincy, Massachusetts on April 20, 1875, the day after the Centennial Celebration of the shots for independence at nearby Lexington, his revolution was just beginning. The great grandsons of John and Abigail Adams — John Quincy Adams, II and Charles Francis Adams, Jr. — smoothed his way and heralded his work. A political change in the School Committee of Boston led to Parker's appointment in the Spring of 1880 as supervisor of its primary schools. The *Annual*

*Report* of the Committee for that year did not reveal any controversy over the advent of Parker. It simply stated that it was the year of the "new departure" in education, and that the new system could be identified as the "Quincy System," which treated the pupils less like machines and more like children.<sup>2</sup>

That summer, the Colonel was introduced at the American Institute of Instruction in Saratoga Springs, New York, as "the best-known educator in the United States." The great theme of the meeting was the "probable effect of engrafting Colonel Parker on Boston." Parker's talk was woven around the word "freedom." He said his system meant freedom for teachers as well as for children. He insisted his methods were not tricks but ideals, that teachers must know their subject matter and also the mind, and how to adapt the two. Nevertheless, William T. Harris, who followed Parker to the platform, implied that the Colonel's practices really neglected the world of the mind. Then opposition to Parker burst forth on the convention floor, where the traditional Boston teachers were out in full force, and it was reported that Parker's words and arms flew in all directions, that his actions were remembered but not his thoughts.<sup>3</sup>

Colonel Parker had just completed his first full year in Boston, where he had evoked tears from the primary teachers and taunts from the masters of the grammar grades, when he reluctantly agreed to give three weeks of his much needed summer vacation to a series of lectures on "didactics" at the Martha's Vineyard Summer Institute. Mrs. Stuart had also been engaged to lecture there on elocution, and the New Woman and the New Education met on the piazza of the Sea-View Hotel.<sup>4</sup>

The Colonel, described as a "splendid, big boy, and a wise, good man in one skin," was a widower and nine years her senior. He could not help but appreciate the charms of this woman in her early thirties. She was vigorous, regal in carriage, trim in body and dress. She was said to have large eyes, a sensitive mouth, all overshadowed by a broad, intellectual brow. Her voice was low, rich, and mellow, having a "brilliant quality that haunts the ear." The Colonel kept calling this lovely divorcee, "Miss Stuart," even though she insisted she had one daughter taller than herself and another who would attend one of Parker's schools in the fall. She also let him know that she did not like to be called a "yell-ocutionist," which the playful Colonel attributed to her elocution skills.<sup>5</sup> There is no doubt that he was under her spell as they discussed the "spelling question." At least, Mrs. Stuart wrote her daughter, Mabel, that the Colonel had interesting ideas on the teaching of spelling and that her younger daughter would no doubt benefit from them.<sup>6</sup>

## II

Mrs. Stuart was already a liberated woman, successfully competing

with men in the realm of higher education as head of the Department of Voice and the Delsarte System of Gesture at the Boston School of Oratory.<sup>7</sup> Born in the Boston of 1847, a little more than a year before the first convention of the woman's movement at Seneca Falls, she had grown up with the movement.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps she intuitively rejected the feminine name of Mary which had been fostered upon her. At least she always disliked it and preferred to masculinize her middle name of Frances into Frank. She was known to her teachers as Frankie by the time she was seven or eight, and she had been introduced to the Colonel as Frank.<sup>9</sup> The only daughter of Calvin and Dorothy Furbush Stuart, she acquired her artistic temperament from them, as well as the breeding which was said to have made her "intensely feminine," and "aristocratic to the fingertips."<sup>10</sup> Though bred a woman of quality, it was as a woman of equality that she would achieve her identity.

One of her teachers remembered her as a slender, light-haired girl, who was more mature and brilliant by far than her classmates. She had a gift for rendition and could enliven school exhibitions with literary pieces for any occasion. Next to literature, flowers delighted her.<sup>11</sup> As she blossomed into womanhood, she attracted many bright young people to her parents' City Point house and one can only speculate as to the circumstances which led her into an early marriage with a man whose surname was Glazier. All that is known is that she had a daughter by the time she was eighteen, and another before she was twenty-one. It was the second daughter, Edna, who confided to the author of this paper that her mother's marriage was unfortunate and ended in divorce.<sup>12</sup> Mrs. Glazier resumed her maiden name and began a new life as Mrs. Stuart, mother of two daughters. (Edna retained the name Glazier until adopted many years later by Colonel Parker, but the oldest daughter, Mabel, apparently carried her mother's name of Stuart until her marriage to George William Rolfe, son of the president of Martha's Vineyard Institute.<sup>13</sup>)

Mrs. Stuart's life as a New Woman may have been forged on the anvil of divorce, or she may have been too much of a New Woman for Mr. Glazier, but in any event she had gained her freedom as well as the custody of her daughters. She would experience the problems of an emancipated woman, tainted by divorce, as she tried to compete in a man's world during that post Civil War era. There is no record of her struggles during the next few years while she raised her infant daughters, but at the age of twenty-nine, she entered the Boston University School of Oratory where she studied elocution and the Delsarte System with Lewis B. Monroe, articulation and visible speech with Alexander Graham Bell, Shakespeare with Henry N. Hudson and Robert R. Raymond. It must have been something of a feminine triumph when she was appointed an assistant teacher at the

Boston University School of Oratory. After Monroe's death, Professor Raymond established the Boston School of Oratory (sometimes called the Monroe School of Oratory) as an independent institution. Mrs. Stuart was given the chairmanship of the Department of Voice and the Delsarte System of Gesture.<sup>14</sup>

While establishing herself as a career woman, she was also beginning her crusade to reform woman's rights through correct dress. Steeped as she was in the Delsarte System of bodily grace and strength as a means of freer expression, she brewed a bitter attack on conventional dress. She sought to free women from the foundations of steel and staff which warped their bodies as well as their spirits.

She credited Lewis B. Monroe for suggesting the importance of physical culture and took as her text for a lifelong sermon on dress reform a verse from Delstarte, "Not soul helps body more, than body soul."<sup>15</sup> While studying with Monroe, she had taken his words to heart, gone home, and stripped off the corset which seemed to her "partially enlightened mind the root of all body evil." Then, her troubles began. Removal of the corset deprived her weakened muscles of their customary support, and she said "muscular anarchy ensued." This could be corrected by physical culture, which gymnastics at the Boston University School of Oratory provided, but the convention of fashion was not so easily overcome. When she designed clothes which were more healthful, her dressmaker refused to comply. Womankind having failed her, she turned to a male tailor, but his price was unreasonable if not outright exploitation. Furthermore, the courage to face the world in unconventional style was even more costly. She later recalled those days when the "imprisoned dress" was worn by so many and the first departure from it was fraught with difficulties.<sup>16</sup>

Conventional dress, as well as conventional cultural patterns for women, had to be changed if womankind would be freed from the physical and social bondage of fashion. Before she was matched with the movement for progressive education, which would attempt to tailor the curriculum to the child, she was arguing for clothes that would fit the woman rather than the fashion. She called for *individualization*, a style that would characterize the new education as well. Clothes should fit the body and the personality. Form should follow function. The trouble with women's clothes, aesthetically, she wrote, is that they completely ignore the true form of the body, much less its functional use.<sup>17</sup> So, too, was traditional education neglecting the functional relation of school and a changing society.

In Mrs. Stuart's day, the only tolerated mistress was the school-mistress, and like the oldest profession, it was tainted. Teaching, at the elementary level at least, was a lowly business as well as a woman's business. Susan B. Anthony had once tried to explain why the teaching profession attracted so little respect. It was because

“society says woman has not brains enough to be a doctor, lawyer, or minister, but has plenty to be a teacher.”<sup>18</sup> It would be questionable for a New Woman to lower herself into the ranks of elementary teaching and slavishly serve the dictates of male directors and the male dominated society which the schools preserved. How much better to serve the interests of womankind by concentrating on direct political action, such as the vote, which had come to mesmerize the woman’s movement! But the schoolhouse, as much as the statehouse and courthouse, had to be stormed and taken before the *ancien régime* of sexist aristocracy could be overthrown. Whether Mrs. Stuart realized this or not when she met Colonel Parker is purely speculative, but she would soon be carrying her feminist colors to the top of the new education.

### III

No sooner was that summer at Martha’s Vineyard over than the Colonel found an excuse to seek out his new acquaintance at the Boston School of Oratory. He said he wanted to smooth out his “rough” voice which had troubled him since the Petersburg Campaign of the Civil War, when a Confederate minie ball cut through his chin and crushed his windpipe. He complained that when he lectured his voice would break off into a “hoarse whisper.”<sup>19</sup> That he made progress in his manner of speaking was soon noticed by educators, and it was observed that, after Mrs. Stuart came into his life, at least his necktie was kept straight. Mrs. Stuart thus helped take the rough edges off the New Hampshire farm boy who had never completed a formal education. Bostonians had previously made fun of his untutored manners, and gossip had it that he was mistaken for the plumber when he made his tours of the schools.<sup>20</sup>

The summer of 1882 brought Parker and Mrs. Stuart together for a return engagement at the Martha’s Vineyard Summer Institute, and Alice H. Putnam, of the Chicago Froebel Society, attended the Colonel’s lectures and submitted his name to the committee searching for a principal of the Cook County Normal School in Illinois.<sup>21</sup> The call to this principalship would come to him that fall as he resumed his work in Boston and continued his courtship of Mrs. Stuart. Her view of marriage must have been dim, though she would later have the argument of a grandchild as its chief inducement.<sup>22</sup> In the meantime, they both must have come to realize that their careers could be mutually beneficial. Marriage was in the offing when the Colonel was negotiating with the Board of the Cook County Normal School. He said he would be married in a short time to a “lovely woman. She is called (and of course I think she is) the best teacher of elocution (the Delsarte system) in this country . . .”<sup>23</sup>

It seemed to Parker that he could best pursue the revolution in

teaching at a normal school than in the supervision of teachers in a hostile Boston, but he also had to consider the wishes of his New Woman. She encouraged the move, though it would mean the sacrifice of her own career at the Boston School of Oratory.<sup>24</sup> She earned nearly as much as the Colonel and he used the loss of her income as an argument for a five-thousand-dollar salary. It was an unheard of amount for an educator, but the Board submitted. On November 29, 1882, the Colonel married Mrs. Stuart, a week after resigning his position in Boston, and it was reported that they left the same afternoon for a honeymoon in Virginia.<sup>25</sup>

The Parkers took up residence in the town of Englewood, near Chicago, in January 1883 as he assumed the position of principal in the Cook County Normal School. They purchased an acre of property and, under her supervision, built a two-storey frame house.<sup>26</sup> It became the social center for his corps of teachers, the base of their devotion and loyalty, the headquarters for planning educational strategy, and it was Mrs. Parker who charmed all with her poetic renditions and satirical lampoons of traditional education.<sup>27</sup>

Many of the Colonel's New Hampshire nephews and nieces were brought to their home for the completion of their educations. Wayland Parker Tolman, son of Parker's younger sister, reported that Mrs. Parker was more of a career woman than a homemaker.<sup>28</sup> No young male, however, could appreciate the effort of keeping a house. In later life, Mrs. Parker confided in Flora Cooke, her "Dear Cookie," who would carry on the Colonel's work as principal of Chicago's Francis W. Parker School, that neither the cellar nor the attic was ever done, but she had gotten the habit which would keep a house straight and in good working order, though at the expense of organizing her pencil and pen.<sup>29</sup>

She did organize her pencil and pen to write *Order of Exercises in Elocution*, published in 1887 and republished in 1889.<sup>30</sup> In 1892 she was elected first vice-president of the Illinois Association of Elocutionists at its founding.<sup>31</sup> It was in pencil and pen that she aided her husband, who had a mental block when it came to writing. In 1894, his book, *Talks on Pedagogics*, received her assistance, page by page, as affirmed by its dedication, with love, to his wife, Frank Stuart Parker. Its "Theory of Concentration" was not only penned by her talented hand but stitched together by her theories of Delsarte.

#### IV

Parker's *Talks* set forth on the discovery of a unifying principle of education which would unite democratic ends with democratic means. Traditional education separated. It separated the social classes, the races, the sexes. It separated leisure and labor, man and nature,

thought and action, mind and body. It isolated separate subjects. It isolated school from society and from life. Unity was Parker's passion, unity of the classes, races, sexes, unity of body, mind, soul, and unity of educational effort. He said his first intimation of such a principle of unity came from Delsarte's doctrine of the reaction of physical expression on the mind.<sup>32</sup> Then Parker built his Theory of Concentration around the child, the "central subjects" growing out of the child's interests. There is not the slightest suggestion that the male or the female child differed in interests. Modes of attention, such as observation, were added to reading, as the child's interest led to the study of the physical and social environments. These modes were united with those of expression, including gesture, voice, speech, music, modeling, painting, and drawing, as well as writing.

Parker was probably one of the first to introduce manual training into the elementary grades. He insisted it was not vocational, but educational, joining the hand and the head.<sup>33</sup> The Course of Study at the Normal School did not suggest carpentry for boys and sewing for girls, as some of the manual training advocates later developed.<sup>34</sup> Body and mental strength, originating in muscular effort, must be developed in girls as well as boys.

The Parkers had long advocated physical training as essential for thought and expression. In 1895, Mrs. Parker joined her husband and twenty-three others to petition for a Department of Physical Education in the National Educational Association.<sup>35</sup> The Colonel rejoiced at the success of their efforts, and again, there was no hint that boys would monopolize the physical education program. Parker told the new department that it should center its work around the "relation of mind and body — mind to body and body to mind."<sup>36</sup>

The soul was as important to the Parkers as mind and body. One cannot read a page of Parker without sensing the unity of all things in God, the creator of all things. His Baptist origins has mellowed into a nondenominational Christianity, culminating in his work for the promotion of the Young Men's Christian Association.<sup>37</sup> Both the Parkers found religious solace in the unconventional Christianity of Universalism,<sup>38</sup> and morality was a central purpose of their new education. These sentiments caught the attention of women, long the moral vessels of all Western virtues. Women's clubs, mostly conservative, could support an education which sought to raise such moral standards in an age of industrialization, immigration, and family breakdown, but even liberal women could identify with it. Miss Margaret J. Evans told the American Educational Association in 1898 that more attention should be given to morality. Speaking for Women's Clubs, she argued that their purposes, too, were largely educational, and that morality was surely as pressing as any subject which had come before the National Educational Association's committees of ten or fifteen.<sup>39</sup> If women were the depositories of all

Western virtues, either free them from the burden of holding up civilization, or share that burden with men. The Parkers would fight for the great central principle of democracy, which they believed was "mutual responsibility."<sup>40</sup>

In 1894, Parker's *Talks on Pedagogics* had told its readers that the United States was not really a democracy because half its citizens could not vote. Parker asked, "Why should boys and girls be taught together from the kindergarten to the university, inclusive?" He answered, "Because they are to live together, to help each other. The isolation of sexes in school has begotten mistrust, misunderstanding, false — nay even impure — fancies. The separation of sexes in school is a crime against nature. . . ."<sup>41</sup>

As leading spokesman for the new education, his position was clearly on the side of the New Woman, just as spokeswomen of the day were lining up on his side in the struggle to reform education. Mrs. Parker helped organize these spokeswomen, even as she continued her own work. In 1895 she published *Expression of Thought Through the Body*.<sup>42</sup> Two years later, her book, *Dress, and How to Improve It*, came out as a response to women's question, "What shall we do to be saved from the bondage of clothes?"<sup>43</sup> Dedicated to the teachers of America, "whether in the Pulpit, the Home, or the School," this volume provided theory and practice of dress reform. She sought to alter the foundations of dress and to individualize the outer styles through variations. "It is universally conceded that women are the weaker sex," she wrote, and "that their bodies are tenderly organized, and need greater care and protection than a man's. . . ." But she added: "That woman has so long survived her clothes furnishes a most striking illustration of the doctrine of the survival of the fittest."<sup>44</sup>

There is no mistaking her implication that women are the stronger sex, that the "protection" of women in dress, as well as in social fashion, was a contrivance to weaken and inhibit their natural strengths and abilities. Dress reform, she insisted, was not only socially liberating in itself, but it was in obedience to natural law. It would save doctor's bills.<sup>45</sup> As a member of the dress committee of the National Council of Women, she was able to appeal to a national audience for a more rational dress which would give freedom and beauty to the body.<sup>46</sup> She also appealed for a freer educational system. It was in women's organizations, often dubbed "Amazon Clubs" by the Chicago press, where she found her strength.

## V

When first coming to Illinois she had joined the Chicago Society for the Promotion of Physical Culture and Correct Dress. There she learned the value of organization and the inspiration which comes

from many working together for one desired purpose.<sup>47</sup> She then helped organize the Englewood Woman's Club and assisted her husband in the innovation of mothers' clubs and parent-teacher associations to help explain the new education to questioning parents.<sup>48</sup> In 1889, when Englewood was annexed to Chicago, she turned to the Chicago Woman's Club. It was then changing from a literary society of prominent women to a political force for social justice. It would soon be claiming that the only "true woman" was a "new woman."<sup>49</sup> The secretary wrote large and clear in the minutes of March 4, 1891 that "The 19th Century woman is outgrowing her old environment. She has burst the chrysalis of tradition and ignorance and is beginning to try her strength — independently — to think and act for herself and to use her influence to form a more elevated public sentiment." The ladies had recently been outraged by the dismissal of women from public offices by the Chicago Federal Collector of Internal Revenue. He argued that such places belonged only to voters as a reward for party work, but he had to be restrained by President Harrison after he received a petition from the Chicago Woman's Club. At the same time, the women were agitating for places on the Chicago Board of Education, fighting for reform in "tenement houses," combating the "sweating system" in industry. They were advocating that the charitable institutions of the city should be taken out of the hands of "lower class politicians," and put in the careful trusteeship of responsible boards. Jane Addams was addressing them on the social settlement movement and Mrs. Henrotin on equal rights. Mrs. Parker was admitted to this select group about this time and carried the gospel of the new education to it. Called an "Essayist," she addressed the club on December 2, 1891 with a paper called "More Pedagogy in Our Normal Schools and Colleges." As Chairman of the Department of Education, she served during their support of compulsory education legislation, trade schools, working girls' clubs. She organized an "entertainment" to raise money for destitute children when the Truant Aid Association ran out of funds. She supported the controversial study of evolution, added Comenius and Froebel, as well as Darwin and Spencer, to their reading lists.<sup>50</sup>

At the same time, she was an active member of the Association for the Advancement of Women as Chairman of its Committee on Topics and Papers. Julia Ward Howe, its "Battle Hymn of the Republic" founder, acknowledged Mrs. Parker's contributions in the movement to make women free.<sup>51</sup> When Susan B. Anthony wrote to Mrs. Potter Palmer in 1892 about delegates for the forthcoming Columbian Exposition in Chicago, she mentioned that Mrs. Parker had asked for names of speakers and titles, presumably in her capacity as Chairman of Topics and Papers for the Association for the Advancement of Women.<sup>52</sup> At that time, Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Palmer of the Chicago Woman's Club were advancing plans for women's exhibitions at the

Chicago Fair which would honor the discoverer of America, but which would help America discover women.

Mrs. Potter Palmer, wife of the tycoon who had made State Street that "great street," was the acknowledged arbiter of Chicago's "Society."<sup>53</sup> As president of the Board of Lady Managers for the Columbian Exposition, she made the opening address at the dedication of the Woman's Building (called *The Home* by the *Chicago Tribune*) when the Fair opened on May 1, 1893. She railed out against the prevailing notion that woman's sphere was in the home and advocated the thorough education of women.<sup>54</sup> A veritable Who's Who in the the woman's movement was present at the Chicago Woman's Club reception later in May, at which time Mrs. Parker's presence was reported by the *Chicago Tribune*.<sup>55</sup> It is probably about this time that Susan B. Anthony visited the Parker home which she would remember with a great deal of pleasure. She said Mrs. Parker was a "marvel of a woman to meet," and that she was a "good worker in the suffrage cause, as well as in every reform for the uplifting of humanity."<sup>56</sup>

Mrs. Parker also had a dress exhibit at the Woman's Building, and Illinois women and schools shared space in the Illinois State Building opposite the exhibitions of rural husbandry. The Parker school exhibit attracted international recognition.<sup>57</sup>

## VI

By the time the electric arcs of the Midway dimmed and the pillored spaces of the Exposition were dismantled, a depression had set in and Federal troops would be visiting the Chicago Pullman strike. Parker's school was the first public institution to feel the blade of budget cuts. Even before the depression, revenues for the Cook County Board of Education had dwindled as Chicago kept incorporating its towns. The burgeoning city, sometimes hailed as "hog butcher of the world," or reviled as "porkopolis," was not so keen on the slaughter of educational sacred cows at its Cook County Normal School. It did not even recognize this school as a fit place to train its teachers. By December of 1895, the Cook County Board of Commissioners resolved to transfer its normal school properties to the Chicago Board of Education. Furthermore, it resolved not to pay its teachers another cent, but the Chicago Board of Education delayed accepting the gift until the controversial Colonel and his staff would resign.<sup>58</sup>

Parker and his teachers refused to comply. They continued to teach without pay. The Colonel had long opposed teacher strikes, preferring to make teachers indispensable to the public.<sup>59</sup> At that time, however, the women grade school teachers of Chicago were striking in protest against wage cuts, and although the Parkers remained out

of that battle, Jane Addams believed the Colonel sympathized with the strikers.<sup>60</sup> It was probably Mrs. Parker, through her club associations with Miss Addams, who conveyed such an impression. While Parker and his staff were teaching without pay, his feminist supporters carried their cause to the public. The Chicago Woman's Club appointed Mrs. Marion Washburne as its "Educational Editor," and called the education of the child woman's highest duty.<sup>61</sup>

Mrs. Washburne, whose son Carlton would be the Colonel's student and exponent in the Winnetka System, began to make news and fight "like a tiger." She managed to make herself school editor of the Chicago *Evening Post* and the Chicago *Herald*, even though she told the club ladies that journalists did not think school affairs newsworthy. Soon the papers, however, were carrying articles of political "sandbagging" of Parker's school. Mrs. Washburne wrote human interest stories of teachers going without pay. She got interviews from William James, John Dewey, Jane Addams, Nicholas Murray Butler, William R. Harper, all praising the Colonel and his staff. The "educational crisis in Chicago," she wrote for national consumption in *The Arena*, was a crisis for the nation. The conflict between the old and the new education, she claimed, was really a struggle between despotism and democracy.<sup>62</sup>

Not only the Chicago Woman's Club was mobilized. Perhaps more exclusive and influential was the Fortnightly Club, of which Mrs. Parker was a member.<sup>63</sup> The new federation of Women's Clubs, whose president was Mrs. Parker's friend, Ellen M. Henrotin, would also rank as a powerful ally. Mrs. Henrotin believed popular education and the woman's movement were both interdependent, but that the new education was most consistent with the aims of women's clubs.<sup>64</sup> Mrs. Henrotin's husband, Charles, also happened to be a prominent Chicago millionaire and banker, member of the Chicago Board of Trade, and a dominant voice in the political party which then controlled City Hall.<sup>65</sup> Mrs. Potter Palmer, of course, could also pull strings in high society. Mrs. Emmons McCormick Blaine, who had sought the Colonel for the education of her son, represented the "McCormick Reaper" fortune, and she could be counted on to bring pressure in high places, especially in calling off a hostile reporter from the Chicago *Tribune*.<sup>66</sup>

Women of all ranks came out in force, just before the Chicago Board of Education met to reconsider the Normal School transfer from the County. Members of the Chicago Board were kept busy receiving feminine delegations protesting the delay in accepting the Normal School. "I have two hundred women after me today," said one Board member to reporters. "I want the school, and I want it quick, and I'll do all I can to please 'em. Any man who wants to be popular with the ladies would better join the board of education these days."<sup>67</sup>

Parker's opposition was crushed. He, his teachers, and the Cook County Normal School were taken over by the Chicago Board of Education. Parker's school then became the Chicago Normal School and could carry the new education into the classrooms of that city.<sup>68</sup>

## VII

All the while she organized the support for her husband's school, Mrs. Parker was carrying on the fight for women's rights. On May 16, 1894, an adjourned meeting of the Chicago Woman's Club brought the Board of Managers together in resolution for an organization to secure the full benefits of legislation in their behalf. The Chicago Political Equality League was then formed in 1894 as a separate organization by the Chicago Woman's Club, and Mrs. Parker was placed on the board of directors. She was then suffering from what she thought was grippe but promised to double her efforts as soon as she was able.<sup>69</sup> Able she was, and she was twice elected president of the organization in its formative years, during which time of office it affiliated with the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association and the National American Woman's Suffrage Association.<sup>70</sup> The League would remember her as a "radical thinker, a woman of original, progressive ideas, with the full courage of her convictions, which her talent as a platform speaker enabled her to present in the most convincing and pleasing way."<sup>71</sup> The *Woman's Tribune* noted her early activity in the suffrage conventions.<sup>72</sup> The *Educational Journal of Western Canada* recognized her as the "well-poised womanhood — the new woman in the highest and finest sense, the true teacher."<sup>73</sup>

It was her husband, however, who had the reputation as the fighter for the new education. Military in bearing, balding, mustached, generally bronzed, and monumental in his five-foot-nine frame that bulged with two-hundred-fifty pounds, he could produce gigantic fists that would pound down his points on speakers' platforms across the country. He shook at the bars of political corruption and rattled the dry bones of academic tradition. He had made himself unpopular with powerful politicians by attacking the spoils system which made the schools, like the sewers, street railways, gas, and water works, subject to corrupting patronage. All the while he ran the political gauntlet of what he called "political sharks of the rum hole and ward caucus," he had to take the slings of academicians who hurled "mudpie" education at him, in reference to the sandtables where his pupils modelled relief maps. Everywhere he went on his national tours he made headlines. (Eleven large scrapbooks, full of newspaper articles clipped and pasted by Mrs. Parker, are now in the Archives of the University of Chicago.) The Colonel was a great promoter and fighter, but in the end, he admitted that it was not he, but "she," who was the real fighter.<sup>74</sup>

But by 1898, Mrs. Parker was failing in health and the fight was going out of the Colonel. Mayor Harrison of Chicago had taken a personal interest in controlling the Chicago Board of Education and had dragged party lines into the battle. There was considerable doubt that the Colonel would survive a scalping this time by the "Democratic Tribe," which then controlled City Hall. Even Parker himself felt the cause was hopeless as he and his wife prepared for a summer series of lectures in Hawaii.<sup>75</sup> But he had not counted enough on the women he left behind. Mayor Harrison complained that his social life was ruined. Dinners, teas, and receptions became a perfect terror for him.<sup>76</sup> And Parker was retained in the June elections of the Board, though the superintendent of schools, a firm supporter of the Colonel, failed to be reelected.<sup>77</sup>

Parker's ability to keep surviving the annual renewal of his contract must have given John Dewey courage to attempt enlisting some of Parker's teachers for his laboratory school. He invited Flora Cooke in August of 1898 to join him. Miss Cooke had taught the Dewey children at Parker's Normal School when the Deweys first came to Chicago, and little Evelyn was especially captivated by her. Dewey said he appreciated the loyalty of the teachers to Parker but believed his ideas would be safer "by taking root in new soil."<sup>78</sup>

Flora Cooke, of course, refused to abandon the Parkers, but the Colonel himself was beginning to entertain the thought of new soil for cultivating the new education. Mrs. Emmons Blaine, the McCormick heiress and young widow of the son of Republican stalwart, James Blaine, offered to relieve the Colonel of his public battles by setting him up in a private school.<sup>79</sup> (It is possible that Mrs. Blaine had first become interested in the Colonel for her own son's education through association with Mrs. Parker in club activities. At least some people thought the private school she projected was to be a tribute to Mrs. Parker.<sup>80</sup>)

The Colonel was tempted, but his new education for a new democratic society had always been based on public rather than private schooling. It was Mrs. Parker, however, according to Mrs. Blaine, who convinced her husband that he should give up his political distractions and concentrate on educational reform in the safety of a private foundation.<sup>81</sup> He dreamed of a slum school, in affiliation with Jane Addams, as well as a normal school which would be a model for public education to follow, but he did not resign his beleaguered position at the Chicago Normal School until May 31, 1899, four months after death robbed him of his wife's support.<sup>82</sup>

Mrs. Parker had been slowly dying for several years. During those crucial days of 1898, when Parker's reelection was in grave jeopardy, the Colonel withdrew from the battle to spend a week with his wife at a sanitarium in Battle Creek, Michigan.<sup>83</sup> She seemed to be gaining strength and they went ahead with their lectures in Hawaii, but

the Colonel knew her days were numbered. It was a specialist in Minneapolis who confirmed the "dreadful truth." She had cancer. The Colonel wrote Mrs. Blaine, who had recommended the specialist, that he would do his best to "prolong her precious life."<sup>84</sup>

Near the end, when Mrs. Parker wrote Mrs. Blaine to thank her for flowers, she said all she could do was think of *his* plans.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, when the Fortnightly Club paid her a last tribute as belonging with the "moderns," there was complaint of her self-effacement as she had worked behind the scenes for her husband.<sup>86</sup> Yet, his plans were also her plans. One might argue that she was not the Colonel's lady but that he was the lady's Colonel. The point is, however, that they were partners. They were equals in the same cause, and this is what she had been fighting for — the equality of the sexes in the common causes of humanity.

When she was gone, dying peacefully on April 1, 1899, the editor of the *Journal of Education* worried about the impact of her death on the Colonel. "There has been no instance in our American history," he wrote, "in which the wife of an educator has been so widely recognized as an essential factor in his progress."<sup>87</sup> John Dewey wrote the Colonel that "Her memory is a deep inspiration to many, who share to some degree in your loss, and it is in this community of loss and hope and love that we must hope to find our strength."<sup>88</sup> The Chicago Woman's Club resolved to recognize "the conspicuous position which she occupied in the outposts of all educational and progressive movements," as it mourned the loss of a friend and sister.<sup>89</sup>

Some said the Colonel died a few years later of a broken heart.<sup>90</sup> It is certain that he never quite recovered, nor did his work. The Chicago Institute, which he founded with Mrs. Blaine, failed to materialize the dream of a slum school, and Parker's other dreams were making millionaires begin to count the cost. The Institute was absorbed by the University of Chicago and the Colonel left his work to John Dewey while his ashes were mixed with those of his wife in a lonely cemetery plot in Manchester, New Hampshire.<sup>91</sup>

## VIII

Now revisionists have rewritten the history of progressive education so that it was not really progressive. It may be significant that much of the support for the Parkers' progressive reforms came from the higher levels of society, but the distaff side of that support, the side which society had previously suppressed as much as the lower classes, should be recognized. Even the movement for coeducation has not been interpreted as liberating for women.<sup>92</sup> This may be true, if women needed a female community in which to find their identity. The Parkers sought to liberate the human condition, not male or

female conditions. They may have been prisoners of their class and culture, but they appeared uncompromising in their attacks on the social realities and power centers of their time. Let such historical chips of revisionism fall where they may, but let not the trunk of a movement be chopped down because there is an axe to grind. It would seem that the Parkers' motives were sincere and progressive in the liberal sense of the word. To the extent that subsequent events may have undone or misdirected their efforts, there remains the challenge to revive the spirit of woman and man working together to improve society for their mutual benefit.

## notes

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3. "Educators in Council at Saratoga," *Journal of Education*, 12 (1880), 77, 84; "From the Boston Traveller," *Quincy Patriot* (Quincy, Mass.), July 17, 1880.
4. Alice H. Putnam, "A Reminiscence," *Frances Stuart Parker. Reminiscences and Letters*, Chicago: C. L. Ricketts, 1907, p. 36.
5. *Ibid.*; "Our Superintendent," *Quincy Patriot*, December 13, 1879; Cora Wheeler, "Early Life, Boston," *Frances Stuart Parker: Reminiscences and Letters*, p. 18; Martha Fleming, "Family and Home Life, Chicago," *Frances Stuart Parker: Reminiscences and Letters*, p. 26.
6. Letter from Frank Stuart to Mabel, August 7, 1881, *Francis Stuart Parker: Reminiscences and Letters*, pp. 13-14.
7. Cora Wheeler, p. 14.
8. There is some contradictory evidence as to the exact date of her birth in 1847. Cora Wheeler, p. 11, who was a close associate for many years, cites April 19, 1847. The Undertaker's Report of the Death of Mrs. Frances Stuart Parker, Department of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Chicago, Illinois indicates that she was fifty-one years, eleven months, and nineteen days old as of her death on April 1, 1899.
9. Cora Wheeler, p. 12; George R. Hall, Administrator of Parker's estate, testified to her dislike of the name Mary and to the use of the name Frank. In the "Matter of the Estate of Francis W. Parker, Deceased," dated April 23rd, A.D. 1902, in the Probate Court of Cook County, File 17-1379, Docket 65, Chicago, Illinois.
10. Martha Fleming, p. 26.
11. Cora Wheeler, p. 12.
12. Interview with Edna Parker Shepard (Mrs. Thomas H. Shepard), 89 Rawson Road, Brookline, Mass., Oct. 14, 1962; Cora Wheeler, p. 12.
13. In the "Matter of the Estate of Francis W. Parker." It is not known why Parker did not officially adopt both step-daughters. In his application for a government pension, filed July 14, 1892, later revised on January 15, 1898, he claimed to have adopted both of his wife's children. Francis W. Parker, Soldier's Certificate, Can No. 17835, Bundle No. 22, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; "George William Rolfe," *Who*

- Was Who in America*, II, Chicago: A. M. Marquis Co., 1963, p. 456, was said to have married Mabel Stuart, February 28, 1888.
14. Cora Wheeler, p. 14.
  15. Frances Stuart Parker, *Dress, and How to Improve It*, Chicago: Chicago Legal News Company, 1897, p. 3.
  16. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
  17. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
  18. Constance Buel Burnett, *Five For Freedom*, New York: Greenwood Press, 1968, p. 212.
  19. Martha Fleming, p. 22. Parker still complained about his voice when making claim for a disability pension in 1894, Francis W. Parker, Soldier's Certificate.
  20. Martha Fleming, pp. 22-23. She quoted several newspaper accounts of his improved manners and public speaking; "Mistake in the Person," *Quincy Patriot*, May 9, 1880.
  21. "A Memorial Letter from Alice H. Putnam," *Kindergarten Review*, 12 (1902), 501-502.
  22. Mrs. Parker, postscript to a letter from Francis W. Parker to Zonia Baber, dated February 25, 1897, Flora Juliette Cooke, General Papers, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois.
  23. F. W. Parker letter to A. H. Champlin, dated September 27, 1882, as published in "The History of Col. Parker's Normal Connection," *Chicago Sun*, July 5, 1887.
  24. A. E. Winship, "Mrs. Frank Stuart Parker," *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, National Educational Association*, 1899, p. 246.
  25. F. W. Parker, letter to A. H. Champlin, dated October 5, 1882, and A. H. Champlin, letter to F. W. Parker, dated October 10, 1882, as published in "The History of Col. Parker's Normal Connection"; F. W. Parker, letter to Phineas Bates, dated November 22, 1882, as published in "Resignation of a Supervisor," and newspaper notice of marriage and honeymoon in Parker Scrapbook, 1882, Archives, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; Marriage Certificate, Francis W. Parker to Mary F. Stuart, November 29, 1882, Boston, Mass. Division of Vital Statistics Vol. 336, p. 205, no. 3677, State House, Boston, Mass.
  26. In the "Matter of the Estate of Francis W. Parker"; Amalie Hoffer, "The Chicago Normal Training School — A Dream Come True," *Kindergarten Magazine* 9 (1896), 174-175.
  27. Flora J. Cooke, "Sunday Evenings," *Frances Stuart Parker: Reminiscences and Letters*, pp. 31-33.
  28. Interviews with Newton F. Tolman, Francis Wayland Tolman, and Sadie French Tolman, Tolman Pond, Nelson, New Hampshire, October 12, 1962.
  29. Frances Stuart Parker, letter to Flora Cooke, September 8, 1897, Flora Juliette Cooke, General Papers, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois.
  30. See Frank Stuart Parker, *Order of Exercises in Elocution*, Chicago: Donahue and Henneberry, 1889.
  31. "Illinois Association of Elocutionists," *Frances Stuart Parker: Reminiscences and Letters*, p. 119.
  32. Francis W. Parker, *Talks on Pedagogics*, New York: E. L. Kellogg and Co., 1894, p. i. Parker's difficulty with writing was attributed to his early school experiences in New Hampshire. Francis W. Parker, "Autobiographical Sketch," appendix in William M. Giffin, *School Days in the Fifties*, Chicago: A. Flanagan Co., 1906, p. 113. It should be recalled that his earlier book, *Talks on Teaching*, was based on his lecture notes

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  38. Martha Fleming, pp. 29-30. Reverend R. A. White, who officiated at the funeral services, was pastor of the Stewart Avenue Universalist Church in Chicago.
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  40. Francis W. Parker, *Talks on Pedagogics*, p. 420.
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**Bruce M. Shore and Esther Strauss**

# **What Happens to Graduate Education Graduates?**

Educational systems are being asked to provide more effective programs and more competent teachers. One result of this phenomenon has been an increasing demand for individuals with postgraduate training in Education. Such credentials are often seen as a prerequisite for securing teaching positions. However, an American researcher, Ivan Berg, argues that level of education is positively related to frequency of job turnover.<sup>2</sup> He presents data indicating that both elementary and secondary teachers are more likely to change jobs within the schools as they acquire further training and higher degrees; that teachers with M.A. degrees are more likely to express a desire for other teaching jobs or for positions out of Education entirely. Berg contends that teachers at both the elementary and secondary level are less likely to stay in teaching as they receive advanced academic training. He does not, however, indicate the number of teachers who leave the classroom, nor does he specify the nature of the positions taken by those individuals who have. If teacher turnover is positively related to educational achievement, as Berg suggests, then the advisability of postgraduate training for teachers is open to question.

The purpose of the present study was twofold: first, to examine the career course of postgraduate recipients of M.A. thesis degrees in Education and second, to explore further the nature of teacher turnover.

## **procedure**

A brief questionnaire and pre-paid envelope were sent to 171 individuals who received M.A. thesis degrees in Education from McGill University. The sample extended over graduates from the past sixty years (1914-1974).

We were interested in the following questions:

1. Did teachers with postgraduate training remain within the classroom?
2. What kind of positions were taken by those teachers who did leave the classroom?
3. How many of those individuals with postgraduate training pursued Doctoral degrees in Education?
4. Was the manner of study (part-time or full-time) related to the career pattern?
5. Was locale related to career pattern?
6. How did teachers themselves regard the relevance of their postgraduate training?

The present study did not distinguish between the specific M. A. programs (Educational Psychology, Physical Education, etc.) because the specialization of the old M. A. (Education) did not occur until after 1967. Such further analysis would be appropriate in a few years.

## **results**

Of the 171 questionnaires sent, 53% were returned. In order to verify the representativeness of the sample, a decade-by-decade comparison between the mailing list and the returns was performed. Return rates of 31%, 50%, 68%, 45% and 45% were obtained from the 1930's on. No earlier graduates responded. Age of respondents alone could account for these discrepancies; for example, there were only nineteen graduates in the 1950's, but ninety-nine in the 1960's. Overall, the returns appear to be representative. The research questions were answered as follows.

### *1. Did Teachers Remain in the Classroom?*

The analysis indicated that 48% of the sample remained within the classroom and 52% left. There was no significant difference between those who enrolled in full-time or part-time studies. (Three respondents are omitted from the data in Table 1 because their replies were incomplete. This causes a 2% shift from the above percentages to 50% and 50%).

### *2. Where Did the Teachers Go?*

When we examined the positions taken by the teachers who left the classroom, we found that the majority (40 of 48) were working full-

TABLE 1

FULL - OR PART-TIME STUDIES AND REMAINING OR LEAVING TEACHING				
	<i>Remained in Teaching</i>		<i>Left Teaching</i>	
<i>Full-time</i>	13	(16%)	14	(18%)
<i>Part-time</i>	27	(34%)	26*	(32%)
<i>Total</i>	40	(50%)	40	(50%)

\*One of these returned after 12 years

or part-time in a community college, university faculty, or post-secondary administrative position. The remainder were distributed among military, government and business agencies, all but one of these agencies related to education.

Similar findings were reported in a recent survey by the Harvard Graduate School of Education. That study revealed that one-fifth of the Harvard Ed.D. graduates were employed as teachers in elementary or secondary schools and 44% as full-time administrators at the elementary and secondary levels. As in the present survey, educators who left school positions (of all types) worked in higher education, government, and education-related organizations.<sup>3</sup>

Another survey (internal report, unpublished) undertaken at Columbia University, also with doctoral graduates, noted with surprise that more Ed.D. than Ph.D. graduates ended up in full-time research positions.<sup>4</sup> No distinction was made in the present survey between Ed.D's and Ph.D's for those M.A. graduates who went on to earn higher degrees. We refer to the Columbia survey because it also indicates that advanced graduate training in Education can lead to career lines away from the classroom or the school, even for students receiving a supposedly "professional" degree. The Columbia survey, however, only covered graduates in Philosophy and the Social Sciences of Education.

### 3. *Doctoral Education*

A fraction over 25% of those who responded pursued doctoral studies in Education. Studying full- or part-time for the Master's degree was not related to such further Educational endeavors (chi-squared less than 1 and therefore clearly non-significant; formal testing not required).

TABLE 2

FULL- OR PART-TIME STUDIES AND LATER DOCTORAL STUDIES				
	<i>Went on to Doctorate</i>		<i>No Doctorate</i>	
<i>Full-time</i>	6	( 8%)	22	(29%)
<i>Part time</i>	13	(17%)	34	(45%)
<i>Total</i>	19	(25%)	56	(75%)

4. *Locale*

Locale failed to reveal any meaningful differences in the patterns of career shifts for our sample. Graduates left or remained in teaching in the same proportions, and the same was true for further studies and types of non-teaching positions. The graduates lived across Canada, U.S.A., U.K., Australia, Asia and Africa. This is representative of the origins of students in the M.A. programs.

5. *Evaluation of the Program*

The responses were primarily affirmative. Analysis of the content of the replies revealed that those which were affirmative stressed two themes: a perspective-broadening experience and a good preparation for doctoral work. Negative remarks were generally that the program was not helpful in any specific way. Whether the student pursued the degree program part- or full-time proved to be unrelated to the evaluation. (We hesitate to assume how non-respondents might have replied to this particular question.)

TABLE 3

(a) FULL- OR PART-TIME STUDIES AND EVALUATION OF PROGRAM REGARDING TEACHING				
	<i>Positive Evaluation</i>		<i>Negative Evaluation</i>	
<i>Full-time</i>	16	(24.5%)	5	( 7.5%)
<i>Part-time</i>	35	(54%)	9	(14%)
<i>Total</i>	51	(78.5%)	14	(21.5%)

TABLE 3 (cont.)

(b) FULL OR PART-TIME STUDIES AND EVALUATION OF PROGRAM REGARDING RELATED ACTIVITIES				
	<i>Positive Evaluation</i>		<i>Negative Evaluation</i>	
<i>Full-time</i>	10	(19%)	8	(15%)
<i>Part-time</i>	21	(57%)	5	(9%)
<i>Total</i>	41	(76%)	13	(24%)

## discussion

The study in part supports Berg's contention that teachers with postgraduate training tend to leave primary or secondary classrooms. Approximately 50% of our sample did not remain within the classroom. That such a large number of teachers leave indicates the necessity of reassessing the needs of the educational system in both the long and short term. Further research is required to determine a. both the positive rewards and the negative aspects of teaching in the elementary and secondary schools, b. the rewards expected by teachers and how to deliver such anticipated rewards, and c. the factors motivating some individuals to stay in the classroom and others to leave it.

Our data further indicate that those who do leave remain predominantly in Education, whether in community colleges, universities, or in related agencies such as government departments. The fact that 25% of the M. A. graduates went on to pursue doctorates in Education suggests that the M. A. programs have succeeded in their aim of providing basic research skills and preparation for doctoral studies. No significant relations were discovered between career pattern and manner of study. Finally, replying to questions of relevance of their postgraduate studies, the M.A. graduates stressed intellectual stimulation, career appropriateness, and preparation for doctoral work, and offered more positive than negative assessments of their programs. This might indicate that graduates felt that the M. A. did help them achieve their own personal goals. An important question which remains unanswered is how well these programs achieve their own goals, and whether or not these goals are sufficiently articulated in terms of graduates' future contributions to the school system.

## footnotes

1. We are grateful to Paul Schnall and Mary Cerre of the Centre for Learning and Development, McGill University, for their assistance in carrying out this survey, to the former Director of Graduate Studies in Education, Professor L. B. Birch, and his staff for permission and assistance in using their records, to the Graduates' Society of McGill University for their cooperation in compiling the mailing list, and to the graduates who took the trouble to reply.
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**Geoffrey B. Isherwood**

# **The Teacher Probation System in Quebec:**

**a description and critical analysis\***

The purpose of this paper is to describe and discuss a new means of initiating beginning teachers into the teaching profession. The method was introduced through the passage of a regulation by the Ministry of Education in Quebec and made applicable to all beginning teachers within the Province, starting in 1971. In some school boards, the regulation was accepted and put into action, in other boards it was modified before implementation, while in others, to this day, it is not followed. In this paper, the new system will be defined, its implementation will be briefly discussed and then a critical analysis of the system will be presented.

## **the teacher probation system**

Most professions require their candidates to undergo a certain reasonably lengthy period of professional training before admitting them into their ranks on a permanent basis. The term for this period varies with the profession, e.g., internship, residency, clerkship, etc. These terms all signify for the candidate in question a period of adjustment and integration during which he has the opportunity to prove his ability to practice and carry out properly the functions of the given profession.<sup>1</sup>

In 1971, the Ministry of Education in Quebec established the Teacher Probation System (TPS) to initiate beginners into the teaching profession in a somewhat novel and hopefully professional way. The TPS had both structural and functional components designed to converge in providing aid and assistance to the beginner (probationer) while, at the same time, integrating her/him into the school culture. In addition, the system provided a means for evaluating the probationer.

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\*Appreciation is extended to the Ministry of Education of Quebec for partial support of this paper via their FCAC grant entitled Supervision et Evaluation des Professeurs, 1975.

A probation committee (PC) is created for each probationer. The PC has three respondents and the probationer as members. One respondent is the school principal (or vice-principal in larger schools), one respondent is a tenured member of staff selected by the probationer, and one is a tenured member of staff selected by the school council (a group of teachers elected annually by the entire staff to advise the principal). Each respondent has equal status on the PC; no one is designated leader by the TPS and each member has one vote in determining whether the probationer will receive tenure after the two-year probationary period.

Early in the school year, an initial meeting is held where members get acquainted. The TPS is reviewed and the roles of each member are defined. A second formal meeting is held in mid-year to assess how the probationer is proceeding, to enhance rapport among members, and to determine which areas of the probationer's work need improvement. A third meeting is held late in the school year to evaluate the probationer's progress in teaching. If performance is satisfactory, the probationer proceeds to the second year, perhaps with a few recommendations regarding her/his teaching. If performance is unsatisfactory, the respondents must decide whether a second year would be worthwhile and be warranted or whether the probationer should seek employment elsewhere. Procedures are available to respondents to resolve conflicts in their evaluation of the probationer.

During the second year under the TPS, the PC continues to work with the probationer through a series of formal meetings. In the spring of the second year a final evaluation is made and the probationer is either (1) granted a teaching diploma (tenure), (2) given an extension of probation for one more year, or (3) refused the teaching diploma. Procedures are defined in case of disagreement among respondents in the evaluation of the probationer and appeal procedures are available to the probationer if she/he disagrees with the PC recommendation. It should be noted that during both years, respondents are encouraged to supplement the formal meetings with many informal sessions with the probationer both in and out of the classroom.

In addition to these structural arrangements, a set of criteria is established to assist the PC in its functional efforts. These criteria include seven major points of reference (themes) and a series of sub-points (components of competency). Table 1 contains a summary of the themes and selected components of competency. During September, each school is expected to review the themes and components and add or delete any the staff deems appropriate. In this way, each school is encouraged to develop a unique standard to guide respondents and probationers in their functioning.

Taken together, the structural and functional components of the TPS are expected to upgrade the practice of the probationer and to provide a simple, yet effective, means of evaluating her/his performance. When the scheme was introduced, the Ministry of Education seemed to expect school administrators and teachers to welcome the TPS actively. However, in some instances this was not the case and some unusual problems have occurred in the implementation of the system.

TABLE 1

TPS THEMES AND SELECTED COMPONENTS OF COMPETENCE <sup>2</sup>	
THEME I:	<i>Teaching</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. A capacity for synthesis</li><li>2. A flair for organization</li></ol>
THEME II:	<i>Teacher-Pupil Relationship</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Maturity of teacher</li><li>2. Sincerity, authenticity, integrity</li></ol>
THEME III:	<i>Language of Instruction</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. A concern for correct spoken and written language</li><li>2. Facility of speech, fluency, diction and articulation</li></ol>
THEME IV:	<i>Teacher-Colleague Relationship</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Team-spirit</li><li>2. A sense of solidarity</li></ol>
THEME V:	<i>Teacher-Administrator Relationship</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. A respect for contractual obligations</li><li>2. A spirit of cooperation</li></ol>
THEME VI:	<i>Teacher-Parent Relationship</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. An interest in movements allowing parents an active participation in the educational evolution of the milieu</li><li>2. Communication of useful or necessary information</li></ol>
THEME VII:	<i>Concern for the Profession</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. A deep desire to promote the interests of the teaching profession</li><li>2. An interest in research and experimentation</li></ol>

### the teacher probation system: as implemented

When the Ministry of Education handed down the TPS to local boards for implementation in September of 1971, boards accepted the policy but some teacher syndicates rejected it. The Provincial

Association of Protestant Teachers (PAPT), for one, completely rejected the system. W. J. Sparkes, then President of the PAPT, wrote to Louis Rousseau, Director General of Secondary Education, the following letter:

Our Association has studied in depth the teacher probation system which the government intends to introduce on a province-wide basis in September, 1971. We have followed with interest the application of this system on an experimental basis during the school year 1970-71. After due consideration, the Annual General Meeting of PAPT declared its opposition to the probation system as proposed by the government "in that it involves us in a purely consultative manner in what is essentially a management function — hiring and firing."

The involvement of teachers in evaluating their colleagues for the purpose of granting teacher certificates implicates them in the decision not to renew the contract of one of their fellow teachers. The teacher evaluator in the probation system would be involved only in the non-renewal process, and then only on a consultative basis, without having any say in the hiring of the teachers whom they are asked to evaluate. If teachers are to participate, even indirectly, in the non-renewal of their colleagues' contracts, they must also participate fully in the process by which teachers are engaged.

It is our view that beginning teachers should be encouraged and helped to adapt to the profession by their more experienced colleagues. A formal system of integrating beginning teachers, involving school administrators and experienced teachers and designed as a learning experience for those new to the profession, should be established. This will serve the beginning teacher in a positive rather than a punitive manner.<sup>3</sup>

In essence, the letter sets forth the present position of the PAPT in relation to the TPS.

The effect of this position remains significant because the PAPT counts among its membership the vast majority of Protestant teachers in Quebec. One school board and its local PAPT affiliate decided to improvise on the TPS when the local syndicate followed the policy of its parent organization. The Lakeshore School Board in cooperation with the Lakeshore Teachers' Association developed the "Procedure for Classroom Evaluation for Teachers Without Right to Arbitration." The policy had a single goal of probationer evaluation. Evaluators (like respondents) could only come from administrative ranks. Each probationer was given at least two observations and evaluations each year. A system of reporting the evaluations was established along with a right to appeal procedure, but no system of themes or components of competency was included. In sum, the Lakeshore system was not aimed at the improvement of instruction or the integration of the probationer into the school, but at determining if she or he possessed a sufficient "something" to earn tenure.

In contrast, some school boards and their associated teacher organizations accepted the government's policy and implemented it. Probably, some principals saw the TPS as a means to professionalize their staff, while others saw it as yet another paperwork chore. While no official leader was designated among respondents on a PC, it soon

became apparent that the principal fulfilled that role, particularly at the elementary level.<sup>4</sup> Principals called the meetings which were often held in their offices and teachers saw the principal as "expert" in understanding the system itself. The administrative respondents' attitude toward the system seemed to play a key role in the extent of its implementation. More enthusiastic administrators used the system as intended, while others did not even call all the required meetings.<sup>5</sup> In short, given school board and teacher syndical support, implementation of the TPS seemed dependent upon the attitude of the local school principal. With such variations, it is still too early to determine whether the new system is a success, but clearly, more study is needed.<sup>6</sup>

## **a critical analysis**

The TPS can be viewed from at least two perspectives. First, in its relationship to specific facets of the establishment — the existing educational institution. Here, comment needs to be made on the general educational climate prevailing in Quebec and on the underlying normative structure among Quebec teachers. The syndical reaction needs to be considered, too. Second, the TPS can be viewed in terms of its internal components. Here, the "laying on of policy" needs to be considered as well as the resources given to support the TPS. The notion of themes vis-à-vis our current understanding of "teacher effectiveness" should be set forth.

### *The TPS and the Educational Establishment*

It would be safe to say that a hostile relationship exists between many of Quebec's teachers and the Ministry of Education. In the eyes of the teachers, a host of issues in the late 1960's were resolved in the Ministry's favor and they contributed to this inflamed atmosphere; in fact, the teachers were even moved to strike. This relationship has continued to the present, reinforced by a recently decreed (not negotiated) teacher contract, by a declassification of teachers (and a loss in pay) and by legislation to end a teacher strike. Furthermore, the reluctance of the Ministry to negotiate in good faith (again, from the teachers' perspective) seems to have solidified the position of the teachers' syndicates. Teachers seem to look to syndicates for support after having developed a strong sense of individual powerlessness. Rejection of the TPS by the PAPT, for example, might be interpreted as a device designed to indicate syndical strength regardless of the potential good the probation system might do. In addition, syndicates only function in terms of a "negotiations model" — how could management just dictate a policy and expect it to be accepted?

From informal unstructured interviews of thirty teachers in 1972, guided by the question, "What do your fellow teachers think of supervision?" four norms became evident:

1. Teachers see supervision as inspection. That is, the supervisor enters the classroom, observes the lesson and then makes a few evaluative remarks to the teacher. At times, no remarks are made.
2. Supervision is an intrusion. Teachers should have autonomy within the classroom.
3. Supervision hinders rather than helps teachers. It makes the teacher nervous. The supervisors do not seem to offer any real help and teachers feel a need to conform to some ill-defined notion of the model teacher.
4. Tenured teachers feel they have already demonstrated their competency.

It is patently clear that teachers do not see supervision as providing aid to the teacher. A teacher who is confronted with the TPS may selectively see only the "evaluation" aspects of the program and block the aid component.

Absent from all respondents' remarks were comments about the teacher as supervisor. Probes in this direction elicited comments about providing "informal" help to the beginning teacher. The underlying teacher norms do not appear supportive of the TPS. In fact, if a tenured teacher actively supported the TPS she/he would risk negative sanctions from peers.<sup>7</sup>

The outright rejection of the TPS by Protestant teachers via their syndical unit was unanticipated by the Ministry of Education. The PAPT first argued that hiring and firing was a "management function" and therefore the school administration should handle it. They further argued that, under the TPS, teacher respondents would act in only a "consultative" manner with regard to firing. If teachers were to be involved, even indirectly, in the firing of a probationer they should also be involved in his hiring. The PAPT position seemed to overlook the voting power of teacher respondents. Since they outnumbered the administrator respondent two-to-one, the teachers had control of the vote. This certainly involves teachers in firing far beyond the consultative level. However, the point made regarding the involvement of teachers in the hiring of beginners seems well founded, yet a separate issue. In fact, involvement in the hiring and firing of colleagues could have a profound effect upon both teachers and teacher syndicates. The notion of peer scrutiny is consistently embodied in definitions of professionalism.

Syndicates are mutual benefit organizations.<sup>8</sup> As such, their first duty is to the service of their members, but the character of that service can take many forms. Teacher syndicates in Quebec have focused their main efforts on monetary gains for their members. It may seem

dysfunctional to have some members pass on the worth of other members or potential members. While professional groups typically screen entrants to their ranks before giving their approval, teacher syndicates seem to have traded a professional entry procedure for a struggle for salary. Of course, one might argue that the trade-off is not necessary. Perhaps the real issue is unstated. How can a syndicate support its members against management thrusts and at the same time join with management in the evaluation of some of its members? This may be the true dilemma. It may be that for teacher syndicates to play a more supportive role in the TPS or other "entry systems," beginning teachers should not be given membership in the syndicate until they receive tenure.

In any event, the syndicates would do well to consider the alternatives to TPS. With the demise of Quebec's inspectorial system of teacher supervision in the early 1960's, school boards were expected to assume responsibility for teacher entry to the profession. Again, it is fairly safe to say that little supervision (as aid or evaluation) was given by most boards to beginning teachers. After leaving a teacher training institution, teacher candidates were hired, entered the classroom and were typically left alone. Many teachers who began work in the 1960's report one or two visits by a principal or supervisor in their early years of teaching. This entry to practice stands in stark contrast to that afforded the physician who spends years as an intern and resident under the close scrutiny of established professionals. Recent supervisory practice in schools, by tradition, seems to stand against the easy acceptance of the TPS by both teachers and administrators.

While these remarks are concerned with the TPS and its institutional environment, it is also important to look within the system.

### *The TPS and Its Components*

When a part is to be manufactured in a plant, specifications are developed to precisely define the actions of men and machines in order to reach the desired end product. Variations from established procedures are likely to result in a deficient part. However, when a situation exists where neither the end product is clearly defined nor the means to reach that product clearly established, slavish following of a general procedure is likely to produce an imperfect result. We do not know who the most effective teacher is, we certainly do not know the best way to produce one.<sup>9</sup> For some, teaching is an art, for others a science, and for others it is purely intuitive. If respondents follow TPS procedures closely there is no guarantee that more effective teachers will be screened from less effective ones. At best, we may be able to say that respondents and probationer have been able to relate to each other in a positive way; the

probationer may sense integration into the teaching ranks. Some assistance may be gained from system implementation, but if a high level of aid is to be provided, it seems necessary to have many more than a few prescribed annual meetings. In addition, respondent-probationer contacts can grow from observation of teacher respondents, the conduct of demonstration lessons and through a host of other activities related to teaching.

If the TPS is to be implemented effectively, a respondent's workload should include time to supervise the probationer. Most elementary teachers spend their school day totally in contact with students. When can they find time to act as respondents? Secondary teachers have unassigned time during the day, but this has been negotiated as planning time. Can class preparation time be traded for supervisory time, or rather, should it be so used? Perhaps of more significance is the implicit assumption in the TPS that any tenured teacher can and will act as a respondent. It is clear that teaching and teacher supervision are distinct activities for, while they may share some common skills, they also require some unique ones. For the "instant" supervisor, only two booklets are given to implement the TPS and additional staff members are not provided to cover extra workloads. It seems a mockery of educational reform to think that a supervisor can be created with two hand-outs and that a system as elaborate as the TPS can be supported without additional staff. Too much educational planning seems to consider "benefits" without adequate consideration of "costs."

As mentioned earlier, we do not know who the effective teacher is. To think that the seven themes and their related components of competency can make up for years of research is a second mockery. At best, the themes can act as guides in aiding and assisting the probationer. Mosher and Purpel have noted two thrusts emerging from the literature on teacher effectiveness. The more effective teacher may be the one who is more cognitively flexible (can think on his feet) and the one who can establish a rapport with pupils. While some themes seem to take cognizance of these trends, others do not. In sum, the themes and components of competency need to be treated as guides to action rather than as prescriptions.

Finally, the close supervision implied by the TPS may prove a source of considerable anxiety for respondents. As they work with a probationer, their credibility as teachers will be "on the line." When the probationer needs help and the respondent has little to offer, the respondent's reputation is at stake. On the other hand, *both* respondent and probationer *may* grow as teachers from this experience.

When an innovation is attempted in an established system it is often subjected to forces directed towards limiting the proposed

John R. Mallea

# The Victorian Sporting Legacy

*The immense vogue in outdoor games . . . has been one of the salient features of modern England, and has expanded far beyond the limits of the schools in which it began. It deserves attention for devotion to athletics is as much an element in 'opinion' as devotion to any school of political or religious thought.<sup>1</sup>*

That the Victorians' enthusiasm for sport was reflected in the "public" schools and universities is hardly surprising. What is significant, is that the pursuit of athletics in these institutions did not simply mirror sporting developments in the larger society. To the contrary, the contribution made by these upper-class educational institutions to the growth, organization, popularization, and diffusion of modern sport was one of central and abiding importance.

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, the English aristocracy and gentry spent a considerable amount of their leisure time pursuing such traditional field sports as hunting, shooting, and fishing.<sup>2</sup> Their sons, who attended prestigious schools like Harrow and Eton, participated in abridged versions of these activities and spent much of their free time at school in unregulated exploration of the surrounding countryside. They also played extremely rough forms of mob football where brute force and strength were the prime requisites of success. This unsupervised play, in which bullying and other acts of physical cruelty not infrequently took place, was but one aspect of the upper-class boarding schools that was in urgent need of reform. Food, housing, teaching, discipline, and pupil-teacher relations were often uniformly poor. The criticism these conditions evoked grew in volume in the 1820's and 1830's. Various pressures were brought to bear and slowly and haphazardly at first, but then with increasing speed, boy-life in the schools began to improve.

change. In this instance, the hostile teacher-Ministry of Education relationship, the sentiments of teachers towards evaluation, the policy of teachers' unions towards member evaluation, the limited resources provided to implement the probation system, our evident lack of knowledge regarding who the effective teacher is and the lack of skill in supervision on the part of teacher and administrator respondents are all factors contributing to an inadequate test of the teacher probation system. Until some of these factors are more adequately controlled or accounted for, the value of the probation system must remain in doubt.

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A marked change occurred in the attitude of the school authorities toward games and sports during this period. Hitherto, games had been a jealously guarded preserve of the boys and masters paid them little heed. Now, however, the masters came to regard games as instruments of control, agencies for the improvement of social relations, and a potentially rich and valuable means of character formation. To further these ends, athletic activities were supervised, made subject to written rules, and warmly encouraged by teachers and parents alike. As for the boys, where they had previously roamed freely over the countryside, they were now expected to participate in team games governed by standardized rules and uniform codes of conduct and behavior. In a word, athletic activities were institutionalized.<sup>3</sup>

A major and far-reaching result of this institutionalization was that the emerging forms of modern team games and athletic sports were invested with the distinctive attitudes, values and assumptions of the reformed "public" schools. These early nineteenth-century boarding schools were upper-class institutions educating the sons of England's governing elite. The values they attempted to transmit through sport were elite values. Thus, modern sport in this formative period was dominated and shaped by the values of England's upper class.

### **influential ideals**

A variety of ideals contributed to the ethos of these schools but three may be singled out as having had a special influence on the development of sport and the sporting spirit. These were humanism, the gentlemanly tradition, and manliness. Each had affected English thought and behavior for centuries.

England, sharing in the common heritage of the Western world, had long been influenced by humanistic concepts of life. Early in the nineteenth century, however, there was a marked renewal of interest in the Greek concept of human life and conduct. Reacting against the philosophy and fruits of the industrial revolution, men turned to ancient Greece for aid in developing a reasoned way of life and an ideal to which they could aspire. There they rediscovered a humanism — corresponding in part with the precepts of Christianity and the gentlemanly code — which placed great values on the precept of "a sound mind in a sound body." Greatly influenced by the classical ideals and values of neo-humanism, supporters of social and educational reform advocated a return to first principles, stressing the value of balanced moral, intellectual and physical development.<sup>4</sup>

The English gentlemanly ideal, which had evolved from centuries-

old concepts of gentility and chivalry, provided the central norm or standard for the new humanism. High standards of gentlemanly conduct and behavior were encouraged and the development of "gentlemen" became the dominant aim of the reformed "public" schools. Physical prowess and fair play, qualities on which a gentleman had traditionally placed much value, were held in high esteem. In addition, the belief that modesty in victory and the acceptance of defeat cheerfully and gracefully, was also emphasized. These values greatly influenced "public" school sport and their impact on the development of modern competitive team games and sports has been considerable.<sup>5</sup>

Manliness, the third ideal, perhaps the most typically Victorian of the three, was also a hallowed ideal of long standing. One of the best known Victorian advocates of the manly ideal was Thomas Hughes, author of the influential novel, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857). Hughes, a son of the English gentry and an active sportsman himself, considered active sports an incomparable means of promoting manliness and believed cricket and football to be indispensable agents in the development of an upright moral character.<sup>6</sup> Leslie Stephen, scholar, athlete, mountaineer and Cambridge don, also warmly espoused the ideal of a manly active life.<sup>7</sup> A third influential advocate was the Rev. Charles Kingsley, a popular novelist and churchman, who is often regarded as the founder of the "muscular Christianity" movement. Kingsley's novels advanced an ideal of manliness in which vigorous physical exercise was seen as being a fulfillment of man's nature. Active sports, he stressed repeatedly, were an essential part of the heritage of every Englishmen.<sup>8</sup>

These three ideals, along with Christian morality, provided the basis of the value system that shaped the spirit of the institutions in which modern team games and sports underwent their formative experience. They also provided the intellectual and cultural foundations for the prevalent assumptions regarding sport, underwrote the value attached to games, and colored upper-class attitudes toward participation in vigorous physical activity. Fair play, gentlemanly behavior, honest competition, modesty in victory, cheerfulness in defeat, manly courage and co-operation became the watchwords of Victorian Sport. Later they were abbreviated still further and "good sportsmanship," "play the game" and "it's not cricket" became phrases which reflected their origins and stood for all that was esteemed worthwhile in sport. Even today, a century later, they still retain much meaning and serve to indicate the persistence of Victorian norms and conduct in the world of sport.

On leaving the "public" schools to go up to Oxford and Cambridge, many young men took their interest in sport with them. Like

Thomas Hughes, who attended Oxford's Oriel College in the early 'forties, they joined a community where sport was beginning to occupy a large share of an undergraduate's time and energies. Traditional upper-class sports such as rowing, cricket, and boxing were popular, as was a rudimentary form of football, but as yet these activities were not highly organized. Changes were already afoot, however, stimulated by similar considerations to those that affected reform in the "public" schools. Throughout the second-half of the century, university sport became subject to greater organization and inter-university sport developed in strength and depth.<sup>9</sup>

For centuries, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge universities have played an important role in all areas of English national life. Nineteenth-century sport was no exception and graduates from these prestigious universities often filled high offices in influential sporting bodies such as the Jockey Club and the Marylebone Cricket Club. Moreover, as new national associations were established in different sports, Oxford and Cambridge men were sometimes responsible for, and nearly always actively engaged in, their formation. The Amateur Athletic Association, for example, grew out of a meeting jointly convened by the Presidents of the Oxford University Athletic Club and the Cambridge University Athletic Club in April, 1880.<sup>10</sup> Elsewhere, too, leadership drawn from the universities and that of the upper classes in general, contributed significantly to the establishment of sporting bodies such as association football (1863), rugby football (1871), yachting (1875), rowing (1879), boxing (1884), and fencing (1898).<sup>11</sup>

Such leadership was clearly not restricted to the administrative affairs of these new organizations. On the contrary, these associations were the authoritative decision-making bodies in their respective sports. In their deliberations, upper class leadership exerted much influence and control over the development of uniform rules and regulations. Of even greater significance, of course, was their role in the formation of all-important norms of conduct and behavior. Under the auspices of these national associations, the essentially Victorian upper-class ideology of sport was extended beyond the playing-fields on which it was conceived and diffused throughout the nation at large.

## **contribution of the middle-classes**

Mention of the widespread diffusion of the Victorian sporting spirit suggests we examine the role of that growing and multi-stratified group: the middle-classes. Their contribution to both the development and later diffusion of modern team games and sports was cru-

cial. In the mid-Victorian period they took to athletics in the hundreds of thousands, expanded and broadened the range and number of games and sports pursued, and imbued sport with a sense of their moral earnestness, respectability, ingrained competitiveness and talent for organization.

The rise of the English middle-classes to positions of industrial and commercial power occurred during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the 1830's, fully aware of their increasing strength, they were demanding recognition of their contribution to the nation's rapidly expanding wealth and prestige. Political reform and enfranchisement was their major objective, of course. But they also agitated for an education more suited to their needs and sought access for their sons to the famous "public" schools.<sup>12</sup>

All too well aware of and anxious to share in the social prestige that attendance at these schools bestowed, they were nevertheless highly critical of the education they provided. Indeed the pressure they brought to bear in the cause of educational reform helped greatly to bring about the changes referred to earlier. Headmasters like Thomas Arnold at Rugby, who was among the first to recognize and respect the importance of the industrial middle-classes, introduced reforms explicitly designed to fuse the aristocracy and the wealthy middle-class into a gentlemanly ruling class.<sup>13</sup> Other schools followed Arnold's example and that of his more prominent disciples. Fresh and energetic educational leadership emerged. Old schools took on a new lease of life, new schools were established, endowed grammar schools were transformed into expensive boarding schools, and thousands of middle-class boys rushed to fill them. Without exception team games and athletic sports came to enjoy an honored place within their walls.<sup>14</sup>

The renowned "public" schools continued to serve as important models, however. In 1861, for example, the government appointed a royal commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Clarendon, to investigate and report on conditions in the most prestigious "public" schools.<sup>15</sup> While clearly unhappy over some things, the Commissioners expressed warm approval of the important place athletics occupied in the daily life of these schools:

The bodily training which gives health and activity to the frame is imparted at English schools . . . by athletic games, which whilst they serve this purpose well, serve other purposes besides. Pursued as a recreation and voluntarily, they are pursued with all the eagerness which boyhood throws into its amusements; and they implant the habit, which does not cease with boyhood, of seeking recreation in hardy and vigorous exercise.<sup>16</sup>

Aspiring schools hastened to emulate and even outdo the illustrious Clarendon schools in the emphasis they placed on sport. And neither

the apprehension of professional educators, nor the indictments of vocal critics, had any effect upon what was in fact developing into a cult of organized sport in the rapidly expanding body of "public" schools.<sup>17</sup>

A veritable flood of sports players poured out of the "public" schools in the late Victorian years. For many, active participation in games and sports had become a way of life and in order to continue playing them "public" school graduates and their friends, founded clubs in a wide variety of athletic activities. Members of the urban and suburban middle classes, firmly established and enjoying increased leisure time, followed their lead.<sup>18</sup>

### **class distinctions**

The wholesale adoption by the middle classes of organized competitive team games and sports, along with their characteristic upper-class sporting values, did not result in any reduction of class distinctions in sport. Indeed, it is possible to argue that the reverse occurred and that social stratification in sport became even more pronounced. For with the rise of the middle-class, Victorian men and women became even more conscious of position and actively competed for it. Snobbishness, together with the intricate gradations of social class associated with it, increased accordingly and was clearly mirrored in sport.<sup>19</sup>

Traditional field sports, for example, remained a jealously guarded aristocratic preserve and few members of the middle-class were welcomed as participants in these pursuits. The Eton and Harrow cricket match at Lord's may have been a fiercely partisan affair, but it was even more important as a major social event in the London season. One has only to read Vachley's novel, *The Hill*, to capture the highly tuned niceties of social discrimination and distinction that operated among upper-class spectators toward the newly rich. The middle-classes were equally if not more discriminating against those they considered ranked below them socially. Thus, to cite a well-known example, the rules of the Amateur Athletic Committee, as well as the Henley Regatta Committee, baldly stated that anyone who was "by trade or employment for wages a mechanic, artisan, or labourer" was ineligible to enter its competitions.<sup>20</sup> In 1900, such discrimination was still actively practised; one late Victorian advocate of this viewpoint declaring sanctimoniously that "the average workman has no idea of sport for its own sake."<sup>21</sup> Competitive sport, according to these interpretations, could only properly be pursued by gentlemen — a term by which most middle-class males now referred to themselves.

Equally revealing illustrations can be drawn from the sphere of club sport. Sociologist Eric Dunning has observed, for example, that in the 1880's when working-class soccer clubs began to compete successfully against opponents drawn from the middle and upper classes, the latter gradually withdrew from further competition.<sup>22</sup> Professionalism, too, was on the rise. Rejected by the majority of the upper and middle-classes, who equated the term "amateur" with that of "gentleman," it nevertheless proved an irreversible trend. Its very success, however, proved divisive and was responsible in large part to the three-way split that occurred in football.<sup>23</sup> During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Association football was progressively perceived as a game of the urban working masses; Rugby League football was confined to the working men of the north of England; and Rugby Union football, the only game that remained aggressively amateur, was played almost exclusively by the middle and upper-classes. This division, moreover, clearly organized along class lines, has remained virtually the same to this day.

## **mass sport**

An analysis of the context in which these divisions occurred is instructive. They took place at precisely that point in time when the age of mass sport was undergoing revolutionary changes in the direction of democratization. Fitfully, at first, but then with ever increasing speed, greater opportunities to participate in and watch athletic sports were offered millions of less affluent Englishmen and women.<sup>24</sup>

Much evidence to this effect is available, but perhaps a few illustrations will serve to indicate the remarkably rapid growth of the mass sports movement. Take the growth of the Football Association, for example. When it was founded, in 1863, it had a total membership of ten clubs. Eight years later, the number had risen to fifty. Then followed a period of phenomenal expansion as the game took hold among the working-classes. By 1905, the membership rolls of the Football Association revealed astonishingly that club membership had exceeded the figure of 10,000. Spectator sport also boomed. In the 1871-72 season, only 2,000 spectators watched the Association Challenge Cup Final. But in the 'eighties, spectators poured through the gates and onto the terraces. Twenty-seven thousand people saw the cup-tie between Aston Villa and Preston North End in 1888; 45,000 attended the Cup Final in 1893; and, in 1903, all previous records were smashed when 110,000 spectators crowded into the Crystal Palace to cheer their favorites.<sup>25</sup>

The origin and spread of this mass sports movement — what J. L. Hammond has termed a revolution in the common enjoyments of

the English people — is not to be found in any desire of the upper-classes to share their games and athletic activities with the workers.<sup>26</sup> The entry into organized sport of the working classes, massive though it was, serves only to reinforce what has been said earlier of the essential class basis of Victorian sport. Only certain team games and sports were penetrated and taken up; others remained exclusively in the hands of the middle and upper-classes.<sup>27</sup> Nor has the situation changed markedly in the intervening period. Now, as then, professional and spectator sports dominate the sporting interests of the overwhelming majority of England's working-class men and women.

## diffusion abroad

Victorian England's political, economic and cultural influence extended to all five continents and wherever Englishmen travelled they brought along team games and sports as part of their cultural baggage. What is more, the entire Victorian ideology of sport — its values, attitudes, assumptions, and class bias — was carried with them.<sup>28</sup>

Sporting developments on the North American continent, for example, clearly reflect their English origins and vividly demonstrate the export of those class distinctions we have come to associate with Victorian sport. In Canada, officers of the British Army enthusiastically engaged in sport and were largely responsible for the founding of the Montreal Racket Club (1829) and the Toronto Cricket Club (1834). These clubs were essentially social in character and membership was restricted to individuals of acceptable social and financial standing. The persistence of these distinctions, and the use of English sporting models as all-important referent points, is even more forcibly brought out in the period after 1860. Participation in athletic activities had expanded rapidly. And inevitably, it seems, expansion led to the by now familiar dispute over what constituted amateur sports. Even in lacrosse, an indigenous game, which points up all the more clearly the powerful influence of the English amateur ideal, the social problem was acute.<sup>29</sup>

It might be thought that Canada provides a unique case, due to its close cultural and historical ties with England, but this is not borne out by the evidence. Throughout nineteenth century Europe, as Eugen Weber has perceptively observed, organized team games were strictly regarded as English upper-class pursuits. That this was so is underlined by the initial refusal of the Swedish labor movement to accept the sports movement on the grounds that it was an invention of the Anglo-Saxon upper class and therefore suspect.

The French also looked upon athletics as a peculiarly upper-class English activity. Indeed, the English amateur ideal appears to have survived its Channel crossing very well. Thus the amateur/professional division, with all its connotations of class discrimination and distinction, was introduced along with team games into late-nineteenth century France. Soccer, for example, was far less popular than rugby because it was “tainted by English professionalism, [and] carried too many vulgar associations.” For this and other related reasons, team games and athletic sports remained for a long time the preserve of the privileged few. As for the mixing of the social classes in sport, it was generally frowned upon during this period. The official publication of the USTSA, for example, opposed the practice on the grounds that friction would result, adding that many young people “would never consent to mix with workers, sharing the games of a class they did not know and from whom they were separated by prejudices of birth, wealth and upbringing.” The idea that sporting activities might be pursued by working men was never taken seriously. “Explicit or implicit, elitism ensured that ‘athletic sports’ would remain the privilege of a minority.” Only in the 1920’s and 1930’s did the French sports association begin to cater to the needs and interests of the working class.<sup>30</sup>

## **conclusion**

The Victorian ideology of sport, then, as the examples of France and Canada illustrate so well, and similar case studies confirm, proved remarkably capable of withstanding transplant abroad. Spanning continents, cultures, and peoples it has demonstrated such powerful qualities of persistence and survival that, despite modification and dilution, its imprint upon modern sport remains.

The pervasive influence of what were essentially Victorian upper-class attitudes toward sport still prevails — at least in theory if not in practice. There remains, for example, the widespread and prevalent faith in the character-forming values of team games. Like the Victorians, many today claim that these games promote courage, self-control, initiative, and self reliance. Many consider they foster cooperation and promote respect for authority, community loyalties, national unity, and even global understanding. More to our purpose, many of our contemporaries believe, as did the Victorians, that the “friendly strife” of the playing-fields excludes discrimination, reduces social tensions, purges hostilities, and fosters harmony and good fellowship.

But much of what the Victorian believed regarding the value of sport is highly suspect. Sport is an activity that can just as easily reinforce negative qualities as nurture positive traits. Success in

games may go not only to the skilled and strong, but to the unprincipled competitor immune to any sense of sportsmanship or fair-play. Sport for sport's sake may give way to sport for personal aggrandizement and gain. Sport can help foster inter-group relations, or produce disharmony and strain. Sport may bring members of different social strata together, but it can just as easily divide them and often does.

The upper class Victorians equated sport with leisure and both the positive and negative aspects of this belief linger on. It underlies, for example, the amateur/professional controversy which reappears with depressing regularity every four years as nations select and prepare their athletes for the Olympic Games. To receive payment for sport was not considered gentlemanly by many Victorians; nor in some circles does it appear so today. For over half a century now, the Victorian amateur creed, based so firmly on nineteenth-century class attitudes and values, has dominated world class amateur competition. Despite vocal and often valid criticism it is likely to do so for some time to come.

Sport, then, is a double-edged weapon capable of positive or negative application and use. That this is so rarely occurred to the Victorians. So confident were they of their values, they simply elicited and stressed its more positive aspects. Today, this is scarcely the case. But it remains true that sport has received less penetrating attention and systematic analysis than perhaps any other comparable area of man's activity. This may well be one reason why Victorian sporting attitudes and beliefs have enjoyed such universal application and approbation. Their legacy, of course, has not gone unchallenged. Many may consider it a curious anachronism; yet it continues to exert its influence. That it does so not only confirms the close relationships that exist between social class and sport, but also suggests that contemporary sport represents one of the final and beleaguered bastions of nineteenth century beliefs in a world where change is endemic and increasingly swift.

## references

1. D. C. Somervell, *English Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Longmans, Green, 1950, p. 114.
2. "The English landed society did not pursue games but sports. Its recreations were shooting, fishing, hunting, coursing, and horse racing; beside these the little unorganized cricket and football, which its members might play at school, were of small account. Archery was the only widespread aristocratic sport involving competitive scores; tennis was rare, lawn tennis unborn, and golf a peculiarity of Scotsmen." R. C. K. Ensor, *England 1870-1914*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936, p. 164.
3. The author has written at length on these developments and is presently preparing a manuscript on the subject for possible publication in book form.

4. This paragraph is based largely on ideas and materials contained in Sir R. W. Livingstone's *Greek Ideas and Modern Life*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935.
5. See T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York: The Modern Library, Random House, 1934, and P. C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society*, London: C. A. Watts, 1963.
6. Within twelve months Hughes' novel of schoolboy life at Rugby had run to six editions, selling over 14,000 copies. By 1890, fifty editions or reprints had been published, and his fervent advocacy of games translated into practice in both the old and new "public" schools. See E. C. Mack and W. H. G. Armytage, *Thomas Hughes*, London: Ernest Benn, 1952, p. 90.
7. It is said that Stephen took clerical orders and became a Cambridge tutor in order to inculcate in young men the principle of fearing God and walking a thousand miles in a thousand hours.
8. And yet, as Kingsley was well aware, not all Englishmen had the opportunity of enjoying their heritage. In his novel, *Alton Locke*, he contrasted the play of Cambridge undergraduates with that of the London artisan, Alton Locke. The latter, while envying them their opportunities to study, "envied them just as much their opportunity of play — their boating, their cricket, their football, their physical health and strength, and which I mistook for the swagger of insolence; while Parker's Piece, with its games, was a sight which made me grind my teeth, when I thought of the very different chance of physical exercise which falls to the lot of a London artisan." C. Kingsley, *Alton Locke*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961, p. 186.
9. "Athletics," *Contemporary Review*, 3, September-December, 1866, pp. 374-91.
10. D. G. A. Lowe and A. E. Porritt, *Athletics*, London: Longmans, Green, 1929, p. 12.
11. P. C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society*, London: C. A. Watts, 1963, p. 93.
12. E. C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780-1860*, London: Methuen, 1938, p. 129. This work and its companion volume, *Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, is an excellent source of information on the development of sport in the "public" schools. For a more stringent criticism of the essentially class nature of these schools, and those that modelled themselves on their practices, see B. Simon, *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
14. The cult of athletics, of course, as many critics have pointed out, developed out of all proportion. Writing in 1913, even a moderate critic like H. B. Gray inveighed against its monopolizing tendencies terming it a "national madness" and its worship a "pestilential superstition." With a certain frustrated and sardonic humor he quoted the English "public" schoolboys ten commandments as listed in an article "L'éducation nouvelle," in *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*. 1. There is only one God, and the captain of football is His Prophet. 2. My school is the best in the world. 3. Without big muscles, strong will and proper collars, there is no salvation. 4. I must wash much, and in accordance with tradition. 5. I must speak the truth even to a master, if he believes everything I tell him. 6. I must play games with all my heart, with all my soul, and with all my strength. 7. To work outside class-hours is indecent. 8. Enthusiasm except for games, is in bad taste. 9. I must look up to the older fellows, and pour contempt on new-comers. 10. I must show no emotion,

- and not kiss my mother in public. *The Public Schools and Empire*, London: Williams and Norgate, 1913, p. 172, f.n.l.
15. The schools were Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Rugby, Merchant Taylor's, and St. Paul's.
  16. *Report of H. M. Commissioners on Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools, Studies Pursued and Instruction Given*, 1864, 20, pp. 40-41.
  17. Hon. E. Lyttelton, "Athletics in Public Schools," *Nineteenth Century*, 7, 1880, p. 49.
  18. See, for example, G. M. Young, ed., *Early Victorian England, 1830-1865*, London: Oxford University Press, 1934, p. 237.
  19. See, for example, H. Nicolson, *Good Behavior, A Study of Certain Types of Civility*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1960, p. 189 and *passim*.
  20. A. Natan, ed., *Sport and Society*, London: Bowes and Bowes, 1969, p. 20.
  21. H. Graves, "A Philosophy of Sport," *Contemporary Review*, 78, December, 1900, p. 884.
  22. E. C. Dunning, "The Evolution of Football," Reprint from *New Society*, 30 April, 1964, p. 2.
  23. The Football Association was founded in 1863, the Rugby Football Association in 1871, the Football League in 1888, and the Northern Rugby Union in 1895. Two years later the Rugby League Challenge Cup was introduced.
  24. These opportunities were made possible by the aggregate and cumulative operation of a variety of factors. After passing the mid-century mark, England entered a period of relative prosperity and quiet. Real earnings increased for large sections of society, and the work hours of many were reduced. By the seventies, the weekly half-holiday, though not universal, was common and annual and Bank Holidays added significantly to the amount of available leisure time. Mass methods of production and improved distributive techniques lowered the cost of consumer goods. Cheap rail travel opened up new possibilities of recreation for millions of people. Improved transport facilities encouraged the growth of suburbs where open spaces were more widely available. Newspapers and magazines were published in greater numbers, gave extensive coverage to sport and enjoyed increased circulation figures as a result. Elementary schools began, however slowly, to offer some provision for play and exercise. Voluntary societies fought to provide open spaces for the urban poor. Gradually, too, local government authorities recognized their responsibility to provide for the recreational needs of the people and acted to fulfill it.
  25. M. Marples, *A History of Football*, London: Secker and Warburg, 1954, pp. 165 and 172; P. C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society*, p. 74; T. H. S. Escott, *England, Its People, Policy, and Amusements*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1891, p. 536; and James T. Lightwood, *The Cyclists' Touring Club*, London: The Club, 1928, p. 274.
  26. P. Ariès in his brilliant study *Centuries of Childhood, A Social History of Family Life*, makes the point that "for centuries the same games were common to the different classes; but at the beginning of modern times a choice was made among them: some were reserved for people of quality, the others were abandoned to the children and the lower class. Henceforth," he continues, "games once common to the whole society formed part of a class system." New York: Vantage Books, Random House, 1962, p. 414.
  27. Yachting, rowing and mountain climbing along with field sports continued to be preserves of the few. Games such as squash, badminton and lawn tennis attracted and continued to draw support from the middle but not

the working-classes. Track and field athletics also remained outside the spectrum of working-class sport, and only recently have they drawn support from this group. With the exception of fishing, and perhaps cycling and swimming, only those sports which proved capable of commercial exploitation were participated in by the mass of the English people at the end of the Victorian era. ....

28. This is not to say that sport is anything less than an integral part of the society in which it is pursued. Rather I wish to stress the important influence English sporting values and practices have exerted abroad.
29. A. Metcalfe, "Sport and Social Class in Nineteenth Century Canada," Paper presented at the American Historical Association Annual Conference, December, 1971, p. 9.
30. The material in the above two paragraphs is based on an article by Eugen Weber in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 76, No. 1, February 1971, pp. 70-98.

Jerry G. Gaff

## **New Approaches to The Improvement of Instruction\***

Improving teaching has been like the weather — everyone talks about it but few have done anything about it. But all that is changing now. New concepts of instructional improvement are being advanced, and new programs and organizations are being established to aid faculty members in their teaching roles.

Academic tradition decrees that good teaching results from hiring good people and getting out of their way; this represents a “do nothing” approach of dubious merit, because even “good people” need institutional support. The conventional kinds of resources which support the development of faculty have been to help professors upgrade and up-date their knowledge of their academic specializations. Sabbatical leaves, travel to meetings of disciplinary associations, and research support have been typical mechanisms to achieve this purpose. It has been an article of faith among academics that just as training to conduct research in one’s academic discipline, certified by a Ph.D. degree, prepares one to teach, the acquisition of additional knowledge and the conduct of research improves teaching. It is obvious that an instructor must know what he is talking about, but it is equally clear that scholarly competence does not automatically translate into teaching effectiveness. Other common approaches to instructional improvement emanating from academic folklore include reducing the teaching load, reducing class size, providing more assistants, and in general making the faculty member’s job easier. These efforts to make the professor’s job easier may be desirable, but there is little reason to think they will make his instruction any better. None of these traditional concepts enjoys much support from leaders of higher education today.

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\*A more extended discussion of this topic may be found in the author’s forthcoming book, *Toward Faculty Renewal: Advances in Faculty, Instructional, and Organizational Development*, to be published by Jossey-Boss this fall.

On-going reports can also be found in the *Newsletter* from the McGill Centre for Learning and Development. — *Ed.*

The new view of instructional improvement focuses attention directly on the instructional roles of faculty members. New programs seek to help faculty members achieve such diverse objectives as clarify values, increase knowledge, improve skills, enhance sensitivities, redesign courses, improve relationships, use new methods, and acquire competencies as they relate to teaching, their central professional role. In-service programs consisting of seminars, workshops, instructional experiences, individual and group projects, and consultations are helping faculty members enhance and extend their instructional competencies and increase their satisfaction with their work.

But working directly on the improvement of instruction is not enough. Because professional and personal concerns are closely intertwined, the attitudes, values, and life styles of individuals affect their work; and the accomplishments, satisfactions, and frustrations of work affect other aspects of their lives. Thus, the concept of instructional improvement embraces the personal arena and implies assisting faculty members to understand and cope with the various other parts of their lives.

Instructional improvement also includes organizational components. Individuals who seek to improve their teaching may need understanding, acceptance, and assistance from their colleagues; some changes in courses require a supportive departmental and institutional environment; self-development efforts need to be recognized with rewards in the advancement system; and faculty growth depends on administrative leadership and institutional resources. So the concept of instructional improvement also implies organizational development and renewal.

New organizations are being created at many colleges and universities to implement this contemporary concept of instructional improvement. They take many forms. They often involve the creation of centers, offices, divisions, programs or projects which provide services variously referred to as Instructional Development, Faculty Development, Professional Development, Educational Development, Organizational Development, Learning Resources, or Teaching Improvement. Such offices include both large and small scale efforts; they range from rather informal to highly formal programs; and they engage in a wide diversity of specific activities. What is more, they are obtaining a good deal of faculty support. One director of an instructional resource center reflected, "It would have been heresy a few years ago to suggest to the faculty that they could be helped to teach better. But now that suggestion is accepted more easily."

The contemporary approach to instructional improvement may be better understood by an examination of the assumptions that underlie the work of new programs. A close reading of the documents — proposals, reports, brochures, evaluations — emanating from these pro-

grams reveals many widely held assumptions. Although no program necessarily holds all of these assumptions and many fail to make their assumptions explicit, the following list contains most of the important components of the new concept.

1. Faculty members are the most important educational resource of a college or university, and just as material resources must be given special care and attention to enhance their value, so must the talents, interests, and skills of faculty be systematically cultivated.
2. Teaching is the primary, though by no means the only, professional activity of most faculty members. A major reason why instructors choose to work in a college or university is their commitment to teaching, and most faculty members are interested in excelling in this primary professional activity.
3. Scholarship and research — another major professional activity of many faculty members — need not be antithetical to effective teaching. Ways can and should be found by which research enriches and complements teaching.
4. Teaching is much neglected by academic tradition. In most schools this neglect is not due to the lack of interest in teaching among individual faculty members. Rather, the neglect can be traced to factors pervading the general academic culture, such as the lack of preparation for teaching roles during graduate education, the relative absence of in-service education which is found in other professions, and the paucity of academic policies (e.g. promotion, salary, tenure) which provide positive support and reward for effective teaching.
5. Although there is little systematic evidence about how good the quality of teaching and learning actually are in most institutions, there is a general feeling, shared by many within and outside academia, that it may be improved.
6. Improving the quality of instruction requires working with administrators and students — perhaps even members of the larger community — as well as with faculty members. All of these groups have legitimate interest in and responsibility for making the instructional program work well.
7. Just as faculty members receive little preparation for their instructional roles, administrators have little training for the leadership, policy formulation, administrative, and managerial roles of their work. Department chairpeople, deans, vice presidents, and presidents — no less than faculty members — need to develop and, furthermore, they need to encourage and support the growth of the individuals in their charge.
8. Teaching is a complex set of attitudes, knowledge, skills, motivations, and values. The improvement of instruction and learning requires an awareness of the complexities involved in faculty,

students, and institutions and hence the avoidance of simplistic solutions.

9. Effective teaching results in effective learning.
10. There is no single model of effective teaching or learning, and proposals advanced as panaceas with a doctrinaire approach are suspect and to be avoided.
11. There is great diversity among students. Their various learning styles are based on differences in ability, interest, educational background, future aspirations, and personality orientations, and these different learning styles call for different kinds of learning experiences.
12. Faculty members, too, are a diverse lot. They vary on such key factors as age, field of specialization, teaching experience, and educational philosophy. Because diversity is one of the greatest strengths of any faculty, every effort should be made to assist individual faculty members in ways which are consistent with their diverse values, needs, and personal styles and which are consistent with student needs and institutional goals.
13. Efforts to improve teaching by imposing unreasonable restrictions or demands on faculty members are not productive. Rather, lasting change can only be brought about by supporting and reinforcing positive efforts of faculty members. Intrinsic interest rather than extrinsic demand is what leads individuals to seek improvement. When external motivation is used by faculty development programs, the carrot — not the stick — is the preferred form of incentive.
14. Participation in faculty development activities is on a voluntary basis. The willing involvement of faculty members and others in the various programs is seen as a necessity if enduring improvement is to be obtained.
15. Every institution contains many persons with expertise and experience which may be included in teaching improvement programs. Faculty members with the ability to assist their colleagues are generally willing, often eager, to do so. These people may be utilized to develop a rich pool of readily available talent which may be tapped by individuals with various needs.

These several assumptions give the flavor of most faculty and instructional development programs. Some of these assumptions have empirical aspects, but few permit clear cut scientific testing. They rather provide the intellectual substratum upon which many testable hypotheses and action programs rest. And they do point the way toward a variety of specific activities that are found in professional development programs.

Although all instructional improvement programs are designed to improve the quality of teaching and learning, there is considerable diversity among them. Different kinds of programs have different

foci, draw from different intellectual traditions, make different analyses of what ails teaching and learning, and prescribe different solutions. The major variations may be labeled *instructional development*, *faculty development*, and *organizational development*, each of which will be discussed briefly below.

## **instructional development**

The focus of this program is on the development of conditions of learning, usually courses and curricula. The intellectual roots for the program lie in systems theory, educational psychology, curriculum theory, learning theory, media and technology, and evaluation and statistics.

The instructional developer assists a faculty member, or a team of teaching faculty, to specify measurable cognitive and affective objectives of student learning; design learning activities and materials relevant to the objectives; measure student accomplishment; and modify the instructional sequences in light of the evaluation.

One of the major strengths of this approach is that it enables the faculty to focus on the outcomes of instruction, providing objective data concerning students' learning. In addition, the objectives, learning experiences, and evaluation of students' attainment of objectives are more systematically related thus increasing the probability that the objectives will be attained.

Because it is easier to apply these concepts and techniques to a structured discipline, instructional development tends to be more readily accepted by faculty members in the natural sciences, professional fields, and the more structured of the social sciences. Although the faculty in the humanities and the softer social sciences generally are less attracted to the systematization of their courses, there are numerous cases where this approach has been profitably used in those fields as well.

Although many small schools, such as the University of Redlands and Azusa Pacific College in Southern California, have instructional development programs, the most renowned programs are found in larger institutions (such as Syracuse, Florida State, Michigan State, Indiana and Brigham Young Universities), that have available specialized technical expertise in educational psychology, media, computer, and evaluation. Many of these schools produce instructional packages, either modules or entire courses, which may be adopted elsewhere.

## **faculty development**

The focus of this type of program is the faculty member, rather than

the courses that he teaches. In this case, the intellectual roots lie in developmental and social psychology and psychiatry. There are two related emphases in most faculty development programs, development as a professional, primarily as a teacher, and development as a person. Because teaching is the primary professional activity of most faculty members and because faculty generally have not been prepared for their teaching roles, the major focus of these programs is development of the faculty member as a teacher.

Many different kinds of activities are carried on with the express purpose of helping faculty improve their teaching. The alternatives depend upon different analyses of what ails teaching and the kind of solution that each calls for, and include the following.

1. *Knowledge about higher education.* It is commonly asserted that faculty members lack knowledge about education and that they need to be exposed to the professional literature and diverse practices of higher education. Some faculty development programs help faculty to acquire this knowledge by inviting lecturers to analyze contemporary educational issues, organizing formal and informal discussion groups among interested faculty members, acquiring a collection of books, articles and reports, publishing a newsletter, or working with interested departments to incorporate substantive educational discussions into their faculty meetings. The content of these sessions varies widely depending on the interests of the participants, but it may include such general topics and themes as the history and philosophy of higher education or the rights and responsibilities of members of the academic profession, as well as topics more directly related to the teaching function of faculty members, such as innovations in instruction, alternative faculty-student relationships, and research findings about factors that do, and do not, have an influence on teaching and learning. Frank Vattano's seminars at Colorado State University and Stanford Ericksen's newsletter, *Memo to the Faculty*, at the University of Michigan are examples of these practices.
2. *Teaching skills.* Some critics maintain that faculty members lack various skills involved in effective teaching both in and out of class, and several programs are directed to assist faculty acquire these skills and sensitivities. Workshops, video-taping of teaching episodes, and classroom visitations have been used to help faculty develop specific communication skills such as listening or questioning; develop sensitivities to such factors as affective tone and interpersonal dynamics in a classroom; improve common instructional strategies such as preparing and delivering lectures and leading discussion groups; and adopt new instructional approaches such

as preparing learning contracts or serving as resource persons. At Harvard University, William Perry and Kiyu Morimoto have taped scores of classes and use the audio recordings in workshops for graduate teaching assistants to generate discussion and enhance awareness about the dynamics of student-teacher interactions.

3. *Feedback about their own teaching behavior.* Most people in any walk of life have only partial knowledge about how they are seen by others, and some faculty believe that they might become better teachers if they had accurate and useful feedback from their students, colleagues and administrators about their classroom behavior. It is not uncommon these days for faculty members to have students rate them on general qualities that are presumed to be indicative of effective teaching. Other techniques have also been used. Faculty members have recorded their classes with either video or audio tapes and have discussed the tapes with students and/or colleagues; rating scale items have been developed by individuals and/or departments which reflect specific concerns of those involved in teaching; and rating forms have been regarded as diagnostic devices which identify areas of strength and weakness and used to specify specific follow-on activities by which faculty members may improve their performance. The work of Robert Wilson and Lynn Wood at the University of California, Berkeley and Donald Hoyt at Kansas State University focus on the evaluation of teaching performance.
4. *Affective development.* Some critics argue that the main problem with teaching is that faculty have not examined their attitudes, values and assumptions with respect to what constitutes effective teaching, desirable relationships with students and productive relationships with their colleagues. Since these attitudes have often been derived from the faculty members' previous training, they may work in opposition to the needs of their current students, and even to their own satisfaction. Several scholars who have researched the academic culture have remarked about how lonely, frustrated, and alienated individual faculty members are. Some institutions, such as those in the Kansas City Regional Council for Higher Education, have held workshops for faculty to explore their attitudes and values about teaching and learning. Various exercises are available for use in task-oriented sensitivity groups. Simulation and games, for example, allow faculty members to enhance their awareness by playing new roles. In addition, having faculty members interview each other is a technique that has been used to help them plunge

into a meaningful dialogue about affectively toned aspects of the teaching-learning process.

5. *Awareness of other disciplines and the community.* A common charge leveled against academics is that they are encapsulated in narrow academic specialization and unaware of important relationships with other fields of knowledge and of the realities of the larger world. In order to promote contact among faculty members from different disciplines, cross disciplinary seminars have been held, various kinds of inter-disciplinary programs have been formed, team teaching has been encouraged, and experimental colleges have been created.

Macalester College in Minnesota, for instance, has initiated an Auditor-Consultant program in which two faculty members from related disciplines are brought together in an unusual relationship. One person attends a course of his colleague, suggests ways in which the content and methods of his own discipline could apply to the course and tutors the colleague in some important trends in his own discipline. Then they change roles and concentrate on a course taught by the other person. Efforts to acquaint faculty with realities in the larger community include conversation groups of faculty members and citizens from different walks of life, part-time faculty assignment in community organizations and institutions, and programs to provide career counseling for students with community and faculty involvement. These programs are designed to broaden the talents of faculty members beyond the specialties of their academic disciplines, thereby to enhance their effectiveness in teaching and advising students.

6. *Learning rather than teaching.* Some analysts assert that the problem is not to improve the teaching of faculty members but the learning of students. The implication is that teaching may be improved if faculty become more sensitive to the learning styles and needs of the increasingly diverse student population and employ teaching strategies which are responsive to them. Distribution of written materials, seminars, and workshops which feature cognitive, affective, and skill development components have been devised to acquaint faculty with the needs of students who vary on such factors as intellectual ability, social background, learning style, and personality orientation. Faculty have also been introduced to techniques designed to individualize instruction, including self-paced learning, independent study, curricular contracts, and criterion referenced evaluation. Benjamin Green and his colleagues at Georgetown University's Center

for Personalized Instruction is an example of this kind of program.

It is obvious that the attitudes, values, and life styles of individuals affect their work, and that the accomplishments, satisfactions, and frustrations of work affect other aspects of their lives. The recent concern over alternative life styles and the prevalence of "mid-career crises" suggests that many faculty members might benefit from discussions with each other as well as with men and women from other walks of life about a wide variety of personally relevant topics. The meaning of work, alternative conceptions of the good life, leisure and its opportunities, family dynamics, adult developmental tasks, and emergent life styles are issues which confront all thinking people, and faculty members could share their views and experiences and learn from one another. Although these groups could easily take on a therapeutic flavor and be led by a facilitator, they can also be conducted on a cognitive basis run by and for the benefit of laymen who are searching for ways to improve the quality of their lives.

## **organizational development**

The focus of this approach is the organization within which faculty, students, and administrators work. The intellectual roots for this approach are found primarily in organizational theory and group dynamics, and because the application of organizational development has received its greatest impetus in the worlds of business and primary and secondary education, it has become intertwined with concepts of both management and education.

One aspect of this approach is the development of administrative and interpersonal competencies among leaders of the organization. Central administrators, department chairpersons, and faculty who play leadership roles are seldom prepared to administer or manage organizations, and they can benefit by learning a variety of concepts, skills, and techniques relevant to this professional responsibility. The Office of Staff and Organizational Development at Miami-Dade Community College and the Institute for Research and Training in Higher Education at the University of Cincinnati hold discussions, workshops, and consultations to help those persons responsible for operating the organization a) clarify their attitudes, values, and assumptions regarding the management of the organization, b) identify various leadership styles and develop those consistent with their personalities and the needs of the organization, c) clarify and establish organizational goals, d) design procedures and practices to achieve the goals, e) assess the extent to which the goals are realized, f) plan and conduct meetings effectively and expeditiously, and g) manage conflict among individuals in a creative and productive manner.

Such competencies among campus leaders are expected to foster an environment which is supportive of teaching and learning, and such competencies among faculty members could have transfer value to the management of classroom environments and make them more conducive to learning.

A second aspect of organizational development is the fostering of policies which support teaching improvement. When instructional improvement programs are established, one of the first things that is encountered is the fact that policies within the organization are not entirely supportive of such activities. If any of the above programs are to succeed, institutions must have policies which provide positive support for faculty efforts, since in the long run, these programs will succeed only if faculty and other individuals have the assurance that they may advance themselves through their efforts. What this means for most colleges and universities is that they must make sure their policies — particularly with respect to hiring, promotion, salary, tenure, release time, and leaves — give adequate weight to teaching effectiveness and recognize improvement efforts.

Even this cursory survey indicates that a wide range of new instructional improvement programs is putting the new concept of instructional improvement into practice. The programs have different foci, derive from different intellectual roots, and engage in different activities, but they all seek to improve instruction through in-service programs for faculty members. Although it is too early to expect any kind of rigorous evaluation of their achievements, these programs represent promising new approaches to the improvement of instruction.

**John L. Elias**

# **The Paulo Freire Literacy Method: A Critical Evaluation**

In the early part of the 1960's, in the poverty stricken Northeast of Brazil, Paulo Freire developed a highly controversial method of literacy training among the poorest people. However, with the fall of the Goulart government in 1964, Freire's work in Brazil came to an end and he moved to Chile where, until 1970, he used his method to bring about agrarian reform. Freire then spent a year in the United States, lecturing at Harvard University and working with groups interested in his method. Since 1971, he has been based in Geneva, Switzerland as a consultant to the World Council of Churches and recently established there an institute for the further development and extension of his methods of education.

In this paper it is my purpose to make a careful examination of the Paulo Freire Method. Though many groups throughout the world are using it in varying types of educational endeavors, unfortunately many of them have not looked seriously enough at the underlying philosophical, cultural, and pedagogical assumptions.

## **origins of the Paulo Freire method**

Freire's initial training was in philosophy and law. It was while he worked as a labor union lawyer among the people of the slums that he became interested in the work of literacy training. He quickly became dissatisfied with traditional literacy methods because of the paternalism and authoritarianism which they involved. In 1959, Freire was appointed a Professor of the History and Philosophy of Education at the University of Pernambuco in Recife, Brazil. In this capacity he continued his literacy work among the poor and was able to involve many students in his project. In the early 1960's, democratic reform centering around the Popular Culture movement developed in the Northeast. The members of this movement to which Freire belonged, conducted many discussions with the ordinary peo-

ple. In these discussions they used visual aids to dramatize various social issues and, so satisfactory were the results, that Freire decided to use the same types of methods with his literacy training.

From all accounts, the Freire Method was successful in the few years of its utilization in Brazil.<sup>1</sup> In its initial stages, the Alliance for Progress was interested in the experimental method. In the city of Angicos 300 hundred workers learned to read and write in 45 days. In June 1963, the literacy program was extended in principle to the entire nation and between June 1963 and March 1964, training programs were developed in almost all the state capitals. The 1964 plan was to establish 20,000 discussion groups which would be equipped to teach approximately 20 million illiterates. However, widespread opposition began to develop in Brazilian conservative circles. Freire was accused by many of using his literacy method to spread subversive and revolutionary ideas. It seems clear that incitement to revolt was never Freire's direct objective, though his method did, in fact, contain the seeds of revolt since it gave the people an awareness of the oppressive conditions under which they lived and worked.

Freire's literacy work in Brazil was brought to an abrupt ending in April 1964. A military coup toppled the Goulart government and, along with many other leaders of leftist groups, Freire was jailed. He spent seventy days in jail, was stripped of his rights of citizenship and forced into exile. With his wife and five children, he went to Santiago, Chile, where he worked as a UNESCO consultant and with the Agrarian Reform Training and Research Institute (ICIRA).

While he was in prison, Freire began to write an account of his literacy method. He finished the book, *Educação Como Prática da Liberdade*,<sup>3</sup> in Chile where it was extensively used. This work has appeared in English as the first part of *Education for Critical Consciousness*.<sup>4</sup> Freire has also written numerous articles and two additional books on his educational thought: *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Cultural Action for Freedom*.<sup>5</sup>

## the Paulo Freire method

The Paulo Freire Method of literacy training is most clearly presented in *Education for Critical Consciousness*. A brief description will be given here, followed by a critical analysis.

The *first stage* is the study of the context. An investigating team examines the lives of people in a given area. Their common vocabulary and the problems confronting them are recorded and lengthy interviews are held to discover their longings, frustrations, and hopes. Efforts are made to involve them as much as possible, even at this first stage, for Freire insists that the words used in literacy training should come, not from the educator, but from the people.<sup>6</sup>

The *second stage* of the method is the selection of the generative words. Words are "generative" for Freire if they have the capacity of leading learners to new ones. Three criteria are used in choosing these words:

1. They should contain the basic sounds of the Portuguese and Spanish languages;
2. When organized, they should enable the learner to move from simple letters and sounds to more complex ones;
3. They should be useful for confronting the social, cultural, and political reality in which the people live.

Freire's coordinators developed different lists of words for each area in which they worked.

The *third stage* of the method is the actual literacy training. In Brazil, literacy training was preceded by at least three motivation sessions in which the students analyzed the concept of culture in order to see themselves as genuine creators of it. In Chile, these sessions were incorporated into the actual training sessions. The training sessions themselves consisted of discussions around the generative words and the pictures which illustrated them. Each word was broken down into its syllables, e.g. *favela* (slum) was broken down into *fa-ve-la*. The family of syllables was shown: *Fa, Fe, Fi, Fo, Fu*. This was done with all the syllables. The learners were then led to create other words using these syllables and their families. When the second generative word was shown, the learners began to make combinations of its syllables and also combinations with all the syllables of the two words presented.

At the same time that the students were decodifying the word *favela*, they were also decodifying the reality of the slum in which they were involved. For Freire, literacy training is no mere mechanical process for teaching a person to read and write. It is rather a process that should lead a person to critical consciousness. It should lead him to a greater awareness of the oppressive forces in his life and to the realization of his own power to denounce these forces in the name of freedom.

A *fourth stage* has been added to the method which Freire himself has called "post literacy" or political literacy.<sup>7</sup> This is concerned with the raising of critical consciousness among those who are already literate. Rather than generative words, generative themes now form the basis of education. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* shows how this form of education may be the preparatory stage of revolutionary action. Such themes as "oppression," "domination," "imperialism," "welfarism" would serve as the basis for discussion and action.

Freire describes his literacy method as "conscientization." Freire did not coin this term, but he has used it repeatedly to explain the educational theory and practice he proposes. Perhaps the best definition for conscientization is contained in a footnote in *Cultural*

*Action for Freedom.* "Conscientization" is defined as

. . . the process in which men, not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives, and of their capacity to transform that reality through action upon it.<sup>8</sup>

## a critical analysis

The Freire Method is closely tied to certain theoretical views which he espouses. For him "all educational practice implies a theoretical stance . . . , an interpretation of man and the world."<sup>9</sup> Since Freire is given to over-intellectualizing the rather simple educational practice in which he engages, the reader who delves into his books soon finds himself confronted with rather abstruse and detailed philosophical discussions. Yet it is useful to look seriously at these philosophical discourses because they reveal certain weaknesses in his method.

Freire's thinking is apparently eclectic. He quotes from existentialists, both Christian and atheistic, from phenomenologists, Marxists, and pragmatists. In his more recent writings, he has begun to show some consistency and coherence as he has become more closely allied with theologians in his work at the World Council of Churches. The major thrust of his philosophical view would appear to be a Christian humanism which attempts to include within itself important elements of other philosophical positions.

### *Philosophy of Man*

A serious problem in Freire's philosophy is his static view of man. Freire appears to have within him some intuitive concept of what it means to be human. He speaks of man's ontological vocation to become more human. He writes of humanization and dehumanization as opposed concepts. He defines man in terms of his relationships to God and to others, relationships that should be characterized by freedom, not by domination. Freire writes often of oppression as opposed to man's true nature.

Freire rarely gets beyond generalities or pieties in developing his philosophy of man. There is little here that one can grab hold of. He speaks of men as defined by their praxis-reflective action. Men are also the creators of history and of culture. Man just does not exist; he is an abstraction. He lives in no historical time. He has no body, no passions, no emotions. He is controlled by no particular culture. He knows neither relativism nor pluralism. He is not faced with compromises. He never has to choose between evil alternatives. He lives in a world where things are clearly right or wrong.

Because of this faulty view of man, Freire is forced to offer an inadequate explanation of oppression. Oppression, for Freire,

is "any situation in which 'A' objectively exploits 'B' or hinders his pursuit of self affirmation as a responsible person."<sup>10</sup> Freire gives no criteria for judging what objective exploitation would be or what a responsible person would be. His explanation of oppression appears both tautological and dangerous. Freire certainly labored in situations in Brazil which one would surely term oppressive, yet he has not adequately analyzed these situations when he divides Brazilian society into oppressors and oppressed. In contrast, Memmi's work on Algeria is an example of an analysis of oppression which is both concrete and theoretical.<sup>11</sup>

Freire's static view of man is also shown in the comparisons which he makes between men and animals. Men and animals are placed at opposite poles of the spectrum. He makes no attempt to show the continuity in nature between men and animals, but here depends on the rather rigid categories of scholasticism and existentialism. These categories appear incapable of taking account of the biological and psychological findings of the past century. In exaggerating the distinction between men and animals Freire is led into another serious difficulty. If animals are immersed in nature and thus determined as to their actions, then men must be above nature and thus free in their actions. Freire clearly exaggerates the power of man's freedom to choose and his failure to take into account the limitations to human freedom gives rise of an overly simplistic and optimistic view of the possibility of social and political change. Freire speaks of change as if it is merely a matter of seeing its necessity and possibility and then willing its existence. At times he "comes through" as a religious preacher, urging men to live a better life without at the same time showing them how to cope with the personal and social obstacles that make the living of this life very difficult, if not impossible.

Freire's vision of man is utopian, yet it is a vision which is not totally true to the religious tradition to which Freire belongs and lacks some of the realism of the Christian tradition with its strong insistence upon original sin and the corruptibility of man. Heilbroner has pointed out that the deepest weakness of the utopian vision of man

has been its failure to formulate a conception of human behavior in all its historical, sociological, sexual, and ideational complexity, a conception that would present "man" as being at once biologic as well as social, tragic as well as heroic, limited as well as plastic.<sup>12</sup>

When Freire describes the man that will be, this man bears no resemblance to the man that is. This is no doubt the prerogative of a utopian thinker who proclaims the coming of the New Man. It is no doubt the style and rhetoric of the preacher who proclaims the coming of the Kingdom. But this vision of man is a faulty one on

which to base not only a criticism of society and its institutions, but also a program for social and political revolution. The dark side of mankind will not be eliminated when the present oppressed are released and when people turn from oppressive to non-oppressive institutions. Theories and programs of social change must deal realistically with this dark side of human nature.

### *Theory of Conscientization*

Freire's philosophy includes, as one of its most essential elements, a theory of human consciousness and of knowing. He is indebted to the phenomenological view of knowledge which attempts to avoid the extremes of materialism and idealism by positing a third way<sup>13</sup> and he tries to explain knowledge as the process in which man becomes aware of objective reality and of his own knowledge of objective reality. He contends that conscientization goes deeper than the French *prise de conscience*. He contends that it goes deeper because it penetrates to what reality really is and because it is connected with praxis or reflective activity. For Freire, then, conscientization demands an historical commitment, it demands involvement, it also implies intervention into reality through action.

Freire valiantly attempts to avoid the idealist position, but it appears that he does not succeed. The difficulty with his position lies first of all with his view of objective reality. Reality appears to be a static given for Freire. It exists outside man's consciousness. His theory of conscientization depends on some sort of transcendent view of reality so that through conscientization individuals are brought to see this reality and the group as a whole arrives at a true and authentic knowledge of the situation. Freire seems to have little awareness of the complexities of the reality which people are attempting to discover.

His idealist view of knowledge is apparent in another weakness in his theory where the connection between thought and action becomes blurred. Freire seems to say that people involved in the circles of culture fashion a new reality which will replace the old reality which they denounce. He seems to assume that a person's knowledge of his true interests guarantees his participation in activity to achieve these interests. As Horowitz rightly points out:

The line between action and interests is far from straight. Even if we ignore the dilemmas arising out of a direct correlation of actions and interests, there is a policy issue involved; namely, the degree of social unrest necessary to stimulate a person to think along developmental lines without creating complete revolutionary upheaval.<sup>14</sup>

There is also the real possibility that people involved in conscientiza-

tion might become even more entrenched in their thinking once they realize the full impact of oppression in their lives.

In spite of these objections, Freire's concept of learning as conscientization is interesting for a number of reasons. It is refreshing to look at a theory of human learning that has been elaborated after an educational practice such as Freire's literacy training. People learned to read and write in a short period of time. They also became critically aware of the social reality in which they were immersed. Yet success in practice does not mean truth and consistency in theory. One can inadequately explain what one has successfully done. A person can also succeed because he does not practice what he theorizes. In theorizing, Freire goes back again and again and again to the reality of what he did in order to explain it as completely and as consistently as possible. He also modified his practice as a result of theoretical and practical considerations. There is in his work, then, a close dialectical relationship between theory and practice.

### *The Problem of Indoctrination*

Freire's theory of learning is subordinated to political and social purposes. Such a theory opens itself to the charge of indoctrination and manipulation. The situation in which Freire worked in Brazil made him sensitive to these charges, at least to the degree of avoiding conflict with rightest elements in Brazilian society. He is even more sensitive to these charges now that his theory of conscientization is being examined and considered for application in other countries and cultures. Is the Freire theory of learning indoctrinative and manipulative?

Freire is strongly opposed to the banking concept of education,<sup>15</sup> whereby knowledge is deposited into the minds of the students by teachers. He criticized the primers that were used in adult education because they imposed words and ideas on the learners. He insisted that the words and the themes used in education should be those common among the people being educated. Freire's contention is that the purpose of conscientization is to get people to learn by having them challenge the concrete reality of their lives through discussions. No alien view of social reality is imposed upon them; but through discussing a problematic situation, they are led to see the true condition under which they live. Through discussion they also begin to see that the present social reality is not determined but can be changed by them.

Though Freire is sensitive to the charge of subtle manipulation, it cannot be clearly stated that he totally escapes this charge. For him, there is no neutral education. He writes that:

All educational practice implies a theoretical stance on the part of the educator. This stance implies — sometimes more, sometimes less implicitly — an interpretation of man and the world. It could not be otherwise.<sup>16</sup>

This non-neutrality of education is shown in the fact that, out of all the words and themes that could be chosen for discussion, those are chosen which have the greatest capacity for challenging the existing social reality.

The process of conscientization entails for Freire a radical denunciation of dehumanizing structures, accompanied by the proclamation of a new reality to be created by men. Freire is confident that this will come about through free dialogue in which learners and educators participate as equals. Yet one cannot help but wonder if there is not a more subtle manipulation built into this method, given the lack of education in the learners and the obvious political purposes of the teachers. In such circumstances it would appear most difficult for teachers to satisfy the demands for objectivity and for an appeal to rational argumentation.

Freire is no doubt less concerned with the question of indoctrination because of his view of objective reality. It is his conviction that through dialogue the truth will be made apparent. Indoctrination into what is the truth does not raise problems for such an educator. Freire seems only slightly sensitive to the reality that most often men differ about what the objective reality of the situation truly is.

### *Theory of Revolution*

Freire's theory and strategy of revolution appear to be naive, to use a favorite word of his. He discusses revolution without discussing any particular social and historical contexts. He appears to be generalizing upon his reflections on the Brazilian situation in which he was involved. He is like the crusader who, after the good and brave fight, stands ready to generalize his theories and strategies to the situation of all oppressed peoples of the world.

Freire became much more politically motivated in his writings after *Educacao*. According to Francisco Weffort, who wrote the preface for this work, the failure of conscientization in Brazil was in its neglect of political strategies.<sup>17</sup> Weffort criticized the Popular Culture Movement, of which Freire was a part, for its failure to be more critical. He contended that the forces interested in popular mobilization failed to perceive and exploit the implications that conscientization had for political relevance. The ability of movements such as Freire's to be truly effective politically resulted from the fact that these movements were committed directly or indirectly to the government and thus to existing institutions.

Freire has now become an advocate of political revolution. At the basis of his political philosophy lies his analysis of oppression. He sees only one relationship in the Third World, that of oppression or subjection. Freire even thinks of relationships in more advanced countries in terms of oppressor-oppressed. The oppressors in these societies are those who use technology to manipulate people and to produce a mass society. Freire does not condemn technology in itself but rather he condemns its harmful uses. The treatment that he gives to technology is not extensive, but when he does treat man and technology, he uses the same type of relationship — dependence, subjection, oppression.<sup>18</sup>

The tendency of Freire to see only one type of relationship among people makes it most difficult to apply his pedagogy. The cultural, the social, the political, and the religious were all cast by him into the one relationship of oppressor-oppressed without any particular context. In attempting to forge a universal theory of revolutionary pedagogy, he oversimplified to a dangerous degree and appeared to be unaware that revolutions differ according to differing social and economic situations. Freire's failure to link his revolutionary theory to a particular historical context separates him from such students of revolution as Johnson<sup>19</sup> and Arendt<sup>20</sup> who consider contexts essential to developing a theory of revolution. It also renders his pedagogy less useful to many groups who work in varying contexts.

Freire considers that his main contribution to a theory of revolution is his emphasis on the dialogical nature of revolutionary action, believing that leaders should be in constant dialogue with the people at all points in the revolution. In fact, he points to his experience in dialogical and problem-solving education as giving him the necessary experience to write a book on revolutionary action, though he has never participated in a revolution. Freire wrote *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* to defend the eminently pedagogical nature of the revolution. He writes that:

Critical and liberating dialogue, which presupposes action, must be carried on with the oppressed at whatever stage of their struggle for liberation. The content of that dialogue can and should vary in accordance with historical situations and the level at which they can perceive reality.<sup>21</sup>

Freire's commitment to the dialogical character of the revolution is a limited one. After he indicates the number of cases in which dialogue among equals is to be suspended, there is little left to his theory of dialogical revolution. Freire has great difficulty making his hero, Che Guevara, an advocate of dialogical revolution. He quotes the revolutionary leader's words:

Mistrust: at the beginning, do not trust your former shadow, never trust friendly peasants, informers, guides, or contact men. Do not trust anything or anybody until a zone is completely liberated.<sup>22</sup>

Guevara advocates communion with the people only after liberation has been achieved. This does not, as Freire would wish, make Guevara an advocate of dialogue with the people at every stage of the revolution. Freire commends the realism of the guerilla leader and still attempts to make him an advocate of Freire's theory of dialogical revolution, but this appears an impossibility. In commending Guevara's mistrust of the ambiguity of oppressed men and his refusal to dialogue with them, Freire has denied the very essence of his theory of revolutionary action as fundamentally dialogical.

Freire compromises his dialogical theory of revolution in a number of other instances. He denies the necessity or the duty of the revolutionaries to dialogue with the former oppressors. He agrees with Guevara's admonition to punish the deserter from the revolutionary group. This must be done to preserve the cohesion and the discipline of the group. Freire also agrees with the guerilla leader in his non-toleration of those who are not ready to accept the conclusion that the revolution is essential. He speaks of the revolution as loving and creating life: "And in order to create life, [the revolution] may be obliged to prevent some men from circumscribing life."<sup>23</sup>

Freire attempts to make his theory of the dialogical character of the revolution hold up against the stated views of revolutionaries. This effort must be pronounced a failure. The forging of a revolution would seem to preclude the dialogue among equals to arrive at truth by permitting the free expression of ideas.<sup>24</sup> Freire, the educator inexperienced in revolutionary activity, has certainly exaggerated the role that free educational processes have to play in a revolution.

## **conclusion**

From this analysis, it appears that there are serious problems involved with the Freire method. These make it difficult to transfer the method to situations in other cultures and groups which have attempted to work with it have already come face to face with these difficulties which exist both at the theoretical and methodological levels. Nevertheless, there is still reason for educators to examine Freire's philosophy of education.

The enduring value of Freire lies, I believe, in his emphasis on the political nature of knowledge. He sees educational systems of the Third World as the chief means that oppressive elites use to dominate the masses. Knowledge and learning are political for

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Freire because they are power for those who generate them as they are for those who use them.

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22. *Ibid*, p. 169.
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24. Regis Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution*, New York: Grove, 1967, pp. 56, 111.

## CONTINUING EDUCATION — WHY NOT?

We, the Alumnae Society of McGill University, found the Spring issue of the *McGill Journal of Education* ("Women in Education") most interesting as far as it went, but we were disappointed to see no discussion of the educational concerns of the increasing numbers of adult women university students. These students, who have been away from formal education for some time, have been the focus of our attention for the past ten years. Through our projects<sup>1</sup> we have been made aware of the following issues, which we would suggest as a suitable framework for a follow-up special edition of the *Journal* on "Continuing Education":

Lifelong learning — whose responsibility?

What are the trends in Continuing Education with respect to student enrolment, educational methodology, student services, etc.?

How can the University best facilitate Continuing Education?

How does one assess and give university credit for life experience?

What are the problems and educational needs specific to mature students?

What are the problems and educational needs specific to mature women students?

Should post-secondary education be a specialized professional field?

The McGill Alumnae Society, through its Continuing Education Committee, has been acting as liaison between McGill and the Community. We have written several reports<sup>2</sup> based on our projects, our research into Continuing Education activities elsewhere, and our participation on University and Community committees. We see education as a lifelong process and in our view the University, as a social institution, exists to meet the post secondary educational needs of people in their roles as individuals and as members of society<sup>3</sup>. Discussion of the questions we have raised should help clarify future University priorities. We would like to hear much more from the educational community.

*Leiba Aronoff, President*

*Lisette Marshall, Vice President*

## Feedback

1. See, *McGill Journal of Education*, Vol. X, No. 1, (Spring 1975), p. 68.
2. Conference Report, *Issues and Opportunities for Women — the Role of Continuing Education*, February 18 & 19, 1971; Report on the Seminar: *The Continuing Education of Women* Organized by the Canadian Association for Adult Education, Toronto, March, 1973; *The Next Step — A Workshop on Continuing Education for Women* Organized by the Canadian Association for Adult Education, Saskatoon, October 1973.
3. A Brief on "Part Time Education at McGill University," submitted to the Advisory Council of the Senate Committee on Continuing Education by the McGill Alumnae Society, February 1971.



Dear Editor:

First off — congratulations on the excellent work done! The "Women and Education" issue of the McGill Journal of Education came to me as a surprise, a delight and a much-needed encouragement. As a member of the McGill Women's Union and the Women's Studies Steering Committee, I found this an invaluable collection of articles in the support that it provides for our efforts.

Reading the first few articles I felt my anger rise anew at the statement of so much discrimination, past and present, against women who have tried to excel in academic life. When I realize in my own life how much it has cost me to transcend these barriers, I know that we have to continue challenging sexism at all school levels until women are finally allowed and encouraged to develop freely.

The articles describing women's attempts and successes at breaking into male bastions of education were a great source of strength. And my mood grew even brighter when I read of established Women's Studies Programs where women could finally study a reality truly our own.

I found it a very effective blend of material: it was relevant to the McGill-Concordia University scene, as well as pointing backward and forward in time to the many problems women face in their search for learning.

The poems probably touched me most of all — such poignant and subtle insights into feminine experience. They alluded eloquently to the depth of emotion that I think is always an underlying part of women's struggles.

I can only commend you on your efforts and hope to see this important subject revisited time and time again in future journals.

*Andrea Vabalís*

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*Andrea Vabalís*

## *The university today*

reviews about university education

**Dorothy McMurray.**  
**FOUR PRINCIPALS**  
**OF MCGILL:**  
**A MEMOIR 1929-1963.**  
 Montreal:  
 Graduates' Society  
 of McGill, 1974.  
 73 pp. \$10.00.

In a compact, homespun style, Dorothy McMurray has surveyed three decades of McGill's history and has drawn clear sketches of the four principals whom she successively served: Sir Arthur Currie, Arthur E. Morgan, Lewis W. Douglas, and F. Cyril James.

The first chapter vividly recounts the horror of the 1917 Halifax explosion, but, apart from its interesting autobiographical data, it has little to do with the rest of the text. Fortunately, the largest portion of the book focuses on Currie and James who remained in office for thirteen and twenty-two years respectively; Morgan and Douglas lasted barely two. The central theme of the book is that of individual dedication and loyalty. Even the ill-fated Morgan dedicated himself, not to the institution *per se*, but to its students whom, upon his inauguration, he vowed to serve and befriend.

It was Currie's lot to lead the university during the troublesome years after World War I and in the Depression era when "there was just no money and no way of getting any. . . ." In spite of these difficulties, enrolment and faculty doubled, assets rose by a third, old plant was replaced and new buildings erected.

Currie's crowning achievement, which he did not live to enjoy, was the establishment of the neurological institute under the leadership of Dr. Wilder Penfield. When Currie died of a stroke in November, 1933, even the King cabled his sympathy. Currie was mourned by not just the McGill community but the entire nation, both of which he served selflessly.

The choice of Arthur Morgan as Currie's successor was unfortunate. At his former post Morgan had been absolute master and he was unable to accept being subservient to the Board of Governors. After eighteen months of constant bickering with the Board and especially with the chairman of the finance committee, Morgan admitted defeat and returned to England. His successor, Lewis W. Douglas, was not only a very able administrator but also sensibly amenable to accepting direction from the Board. Had the war not broken out, he might have had a much longer and highly successful sojourn at McGill. However, he felt very strongly that, as a U.S. citizen, he should not remain at the head of one of Canada's leading universities with the country at war. Thanks to his efficient management, he left the university in an improved financial position, to the happy advantage of his successor, F. Cyril James.

Although James was not a Canadian either, he settled into the university and life in Canada eagerly. He was not only a brilliant leader, an artful and tireless negotiator, but underneath a rather impassive exterior presence, he was a very warm human being. Not only was he, in Mrs. McMurray's judgment, the architect

of modern McGill but, as chairman of the Federal Government Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, he became one of the chief architects of the plans for Canada-after-the-war. As president of the National Conference of Canadian Universities and chairman of the finance committee, he successfully led the campaign to persuade the federal government to provide the funds necessary for the further development of higher education in Canada.

Readers would surely welcome other casual but perceptive historical vignettes which could provide additional dimensions of academic life not found in official histories. Aside from her portrayal of the men for whom she ran interference, protecting them from cranks and other time-wasting intruders, Mrs. McMurray has left a unique record of a "golden age" when, within the limitations of the institutional statutes, university heads could use their special intellectual and administrative talents to do their jobs as they saw fit, and the universities themselves were neither accused of being public liabilities, nor was there any attempt to convert them to public utilities.

*Gwendoline Pilkington*  
University of Toronto

**Graeme C. Moodie and  
Rowland Eustace.**  
**POWER AND AUTHORITY  
IN BRITISH UNIVERSITIES.**  
**Montreal:**  
**McGill-Queen's**  
**University Press, 1974.**  
**256 pp. \$10.50.**

First, it is important to be clear about what this book is not. It does *not* concern itself — except by implication — with such issues as the university's responsibilities to the community, or the proper balance between professional and non-professional schools, or the pro's and con's of academic freedom. Rather, it is a study of how British universities are governed, or, perhaps one should say, govern themselves. The authors describe their work as a "general and methodologically old-fashioned sur-

vey of the processes of decision-making within British universities today." Their evidence was gathered from interviews, informal discussions, internal university documents, official publications such as university charters, handbooks, commissions—royal and otherwise—and, of course, from their own experience.

Their description, however, is too modest. The book gives a lucid, illuminating and, at times, entertaining account of the decision-making processes in British universities. Chapter II, "The Development of Modern University Government," will be of particular interest to historians of education since it deals with a topic ignored in most histories of education — recent developments within university governance. Subsequent chapters deal with particular parts of the universities' system of government and their contribution to and participation in the making of decisions. Thus, the role of academic departments (and department heads), of faculties, senate, council (i.e. board of governors), vice-chancellor, registrar, are all described and examined. One of the strengths of the book is the authors' avoidance of the pitfall of mistaking appearance for reality. They are well aware of the difference between the way decisions are supposed to be made and the way they are, in fact, made. For example, they have some sensible observations on the intertwined roles of vice-chancellors and registrars and the impact of personality thereon. In the same vein, they quote at length and with effect from an unpublished lecture by Sir Eric Ashby on the importance of "happy tact" in making major decisions.

Chapter VIII of the book contains a particularly useful — if necessarily brief — survey of programming-planning-budgeting systems (PPBS) which are apparently now being introduced into British universities. For those who are unfamiliar with PPBS this chapter will be especially useful, containing, as it does, a brief description of what such systems entail and an examination of their strengths and weaknesses.

In their last chapter ("What Kind of Government?") the authors depart

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In their last chapter ("What Kind of Government?") the authors depart

from the predominantly descriptive nature of the rest of the book and enter into argument as to the most desirable form of university government. Using three categories, which they describe as democratic, oligarchic and republican, they plump for the last on the ground that, "since a university's purpose has to do with scholarship and education," it alone puts authority where it belongs — in the hands of academics. A short review is not the place to join this argument. Suffice it to say that all university teachers will find in this chapter plenty of scope for discussion.

Indeed, university teachers could benefit from reading the whole book, especially at a time when demands for increased participation in university affairs are being heard, from both within and without the university. Unfortunately, for Canadian readers, the authors did not have cause to discuss the impact of faculty unionization upon the decision-making process. Even so, this volume is useful for the comparative light it throws on Canadian concerns. More specifically, students of higher education and of comparative education should attend to this book. It contains a wealth of information and, unlike many studies in education, is written without jargon. Moodie and Eustace must be two of the few people left who know the difference between "uninterested" and "disinterested"! Their book nicely complements the recent studies of higher education in Britain by Ashby, Caine and Halsey and Trow.

*Ken Osborne*  
University of Manitoba

**Lawrence Stone, ed.**  
**THE UNIVERSITY IN SOCIETY.**  
Princeton:  
Princeton University Press,  
1974.  
642 pp. 2 vols. \$22.00.

The relation of universities to the societies in which they operate has never been well understood. Even in France, where universities have been centralized but relatively unimportant

vehicles of educational policy for a century and more, writers from within and without the Université have debated at length whether money spent on higher education has been wasted. In 19th century Germany, where universities had a "clear" objective (they prepared for civil service examinations and for the life of scholarship), the years just before 1914 were filled with acrimonious debate whether to accommodate the "modernist spirits" of industrial life. Thus the social and intellectual significance of higher education has been difficult to assess even in "straightforward" cases like those of France and Germany.

Of course, the truth of the matter is that university-society relations in Europe and North America have been extremely complex, always and everywhere. The two-volume collection of essays under review here does a good job of making this very point. If these essays are not wholly successful as history, it is because their several authors are too often content to *describe* rather than *explain* the sorts of evidence with which they are concerned. This is particularly true of evidence relating to the *context* of the university's enterprises. These historians are the victims, rather than the victorious explainers, of the complex matters they describe.

Both the pleasures and the perils of statistical inference uninformed by historical reason are evident in the several essays (Stone, Lytle, McConica, Morgan) which try to show how social class and geographic origin were related to attendance at Medieval and Reformation Oxbridge. Perhaps it is Morgan, writing on "Cambridge and the 'Country'," who best illustrates the point. Morgan describes and mathematically tallies the geographic origins, county by county, of students at Cambridge University between 1560 and 1640. Combining these figures with information on the sources of collegiate endowment during the same period, and adding a summary of the relations between certain grammar school foundations and their "parent" Cambridge colleges, Morgan concludes that the University was tied closely to the political and religious life of provin-

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cial England. At other points, we are treated to tables of "social status," as Morgan tries to suggest the complex interplay at Cambridge of provincial politics, national religious requirements, familial social status and ambitions and, finally, Cambridge's academic and political life. But Morgan is mesmerized by this interplay; he does not provide an explanatory framework within which to make sense of it. In his study of the debt which Cambridge and its graduates owed to "the country," is he arguing that Cambridge was held tightly in the grip of social forces, forced into curricular and statutory conservatism? It is hard to say. Surely an argument and a subsequent explanation, however tentative, are much to be preferred over legislative and numerical depictions.

While Guy Lytle's essay on patronage patterns at Oxford is better than the work of Morgan, there is little doubt that the papers of Professors Stone and McConica come closest to providing satisfying interpretations of the 16th and 17th century evidence. Stone is concerned to explain variations in the size and composition of the Oxford student body between about 1580 and 1910. Because he is attempting to make sense of wildly disparate data from three and one-half centuries (centuries qualitatively different from one another), his exposition is understandably shallow at times. But in demonstrating the relevance of war, pestilence, political intrigue, and the changing social function of a university education — all of this in relation to the numbers and social origins of students in Oxford — Stone points to new ways of understanding some very important developments in the University's history. New light is shed on the unhappy condition of Oxford in the eighteenth century, for instance, and it is a little easier to see how graduation from Oxford and Cambridge came, in the last half of the 19th century, to guarantee speedy progress through the highest ranks of the English civil service.

The remaining essays of these volumes are written at a consistently high level of interpretation and style. I have never seen essays so suggestive

of the advantages of doing comparative history as those in Volume II on universities of 18th and 19th century America and Germany. If these papers are a fair index of intellectual activity at the Shelby Cullom Davis Centre for Historical Studies (Princeton) where they were all conceived, one can only hope that their publication will stimulate activity of the same sort in this country. Whether or not that happens, *The University in Society* draws attention to a virtually fresh field, the history of universities. Certainly in economically developed nations, at least, the relevance of this new historical study to policy decisions in educational and other domains can hardly be denied. This work should find its way onto the shelves of policy makers and of teachers, not just the arid reliquaries of university librarians. As history books go, this one is surely a bargain.

William A. Bruneau

University of British Columbia

**Cyril S. Belshaw.**  
**TOWERS BESIEGED:**  
**THE DILEMMA OF**  
**THE CREATIVE UNIVERSITY.**  
Toronto:  
McClelland and Stewart,  
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224 pp. \$5.95.

There are professors who will give high evaluations of papers consisting of little more than symbolic assertions, expressed illiterately, provided those assertions fit the professor's own way of life. And . . . there are professors who will do that, even though it is against their intellectual beliefs, not because they are afraid, but because they have coned themselves into thinking that this is "the new way." (p. 56)

A fatal flaw in the headship system is that, although heads are technically removable at the will of higher authority or on the request of department members, the situation can slide very far

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A fatal flaw in the headship system is that, although heads are technically removable at the will of higher authority or on the request of department members, the situation can slide very far

before it is discovered, and university administrators seem very reluctant to replace poor academic leaders. (p. 141)

The best indices of a man's teaching effect can be seen in a man's style of conversation and in his professional writing and influence. Questionnaires . . . are in this context for the wastepaper basket. All they do is flatter the student ego and provide more material for argumentative academics to debate. (p. 166)

This small sampling of opinion from a book by Cyril Belshaw, Professor of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, should serve notice to the perspective reader that he is in store for some intense soul searching on questions related to all aspects of university life, however remote. These include: the objectives of a university, the role of professional schools, the proper subject matter for instruction, size and structure, research, and sources of funding.

The author literally charges into his self-appointed task with all the vigor (and rigor) of an individual who, as the title indicates, feels deeply that the so-called liberalizing forces, both within and without the university, have made dangerous headway in undermining the very existence of the university as a unique institution. Consequently, the book is more than an analysis of contemporary problems facing the university; it is also "a call for major national action, an appeal for clearcut university reform and policy, an argument for outright rejection of certain values and viewpoints in the university context." (p. 8)

There is so much of value in this book that this reviewer is reluctant to single out specific issues for comment. Readers of this *Journal*, however, might find a particular note of relevance in Belshaw's comments on professional schools. Predictably, faculties of education do not come in for special consideration, except for two brief references, neither particularly flattering: one in which they are linked with schools of librarian-

ship in providing an "appallingly banal level of education" (p. 80) and the other in which he notes their depressed "intellectual plight." (p. 163)

The critique of professional schools is organized around the central theme of the book, namely creativity. Although Belshaw concedes that the level of creativity is highly variable among the professionally oriented faculties, he claims there is greater danger that the whole thrust towards creativity can be thwarted in an "applied" atmosphere. He identifies professional associations (for education, please include Provincial Departments of Education) as being partly responsible for this state of affairs because the pressure to link programs and curricula to certification and other "professional" interests influences academic decisions. These decisions are often based on mechanical criteria, enquiry and creativity receive low-priority, curriculum development becomes frozen, and divided loyalties and intellectual corruption are almost inevitable. Moreover, since these decisions are usually accompanied by a short-circuiting of senate academic authority, the university would increase substantially the quality of professional education if it had the courage to say:

Our purpose is to develop enquiring minds in these fields; the professional associations may conduct their own certifying examinations, but we as an institution do not accept certification. Our curriculum shall be the best we can provide according to *university* criteria. (p. 39)

The problem is a familiar one. We know too well the inhibiting nature of external regulations. Recently at my own university the provincial teachers' association made strong representation to Faculty Council for restricted entrance to the M. Ed. program. The association argued that the degree must remain a career symbol, granted only to those having at least two years' teaching experience following their first degree. Council, to its credit, rejected the outside position, but the association has decided to bring its case to the Faculty of Graduate Studies. This

example illustrates the assumption that professional associations make with respect to the easy alliance that should exist between their objectives and those of the university. It is not a mere question of administrative goals but one that directly influences the quality of academic programs.

Since Belshaw argues that the university, as presently structured, has the potential to achieve its goals, it is not surprising to find in this book a slashing attack on the most outspoken critics of educational institutions like Farber, Illich, Marcuse, and Goodman whom he considers the "ancestors" of "a wave of respectable irrationality coupled with criticism that is essentially destructive." (p. 56) In the light of the major thrust of this book, it is a difficult position to maintain. After all, it was these "ancestors" of the irrationalist movement and their followers who pressured the university, at no small price, to reconsider, revise, and adjust its structure. In a positive way they have demanded accountability from an institution that was in grave danger of drowning in a sea of irrelevance. The besieged (ivory) towers have been forced into the dilemma so ably analysed by Belshaw largely by those whom he describes as anti-rationalists. Change and reform are not a matter of choice for educational institutions; they are a *must*. Undoubtedly, the so-called anti-rationalists have not endeared themselves to academics like Belshaw since their concept of change demands a fresh start: thus the destructive element he perceives in their philosophies. Perhaps the answer to the dilemma lies more in modification than with either of these polarized positions. At least it would assure consideration of problems and solutions rather than immediate acceptance or rejection on the simple grounds of ideology.

Neil McDonald  
University of Manitoba

Gaëtan Daoust et  
Paul Bélanger.

**L'UNIVERSITÉ DANS  
UNE SOCIÉTÉ ÉDUCATIVE  
DE L'ÉDUCATION  
DES ADULTES À  
L'ÉDUCATION PERMANENTE.**  
Montréal:

Les Presses de l'Université  
de Montréal, 1974.  
244 pp. \$7.25.

Pour répondre adéquatement aux attentes multiples du milieu, les universités québécoises doivent dépasser et transformer leurs pratiques actuelles de l'éducation des adultes: elles doivent entreprendre activement la planification judicieuse d'un long processus d'éducation permanente et en amorcer l'implantation selon les méthodes les plus conformes aux innovations de l'andragogie. Voilà les conclusions que Gaëtan Daoust, directeur du Service d'éducation permanente de l'Université de Montréal, et Paul Bélanger, directeur général de l'Institut canadien d'éducation des adultes, s'appliquent à démontrer dans le rapport qu'ils ont remis en avril 1973 au *Conseil des universités du Québec* et à la *Conférence des recteurs et des principaux des universités du Québec*.

La compétence et l'expérience de ces deux spécialistes correspondent tout à fait à l'orientation de cette étude axée à la fois sur l'éducation et sur la sociologie. La suite d'analyses et de synthèses que les auteurs enchaînent avec logique et concision démontre une observation minutieuse des faits, une perception profonde des problèmes et une réflexion féconde sur des solutions réalistes et vivifiantes pour l'avenir de la communauté québécoise.

La première des trois parties que comporte ce rapport définit et explique d'abord les besoins d'éducation manifestés plus ou moins explicitement par la population du Québec. Puis elle décrit, quantitativement et qualitativement, statistiques et gra-

example illustrates the assumption that professional associations make with respect to the easy alliance that should exist between their objectives and those of the university. It is not a mere question of administrative goals but one that directly influences the quality of academic programs.

Since Belshaw argues that the university, as presently structured, has the potential to achieve its goals, it is not surprising to find in this book a slashing attack on the most outspoken critics of educational institutions like Farber, Illich, Marcuse, and Goodman whom he considers the "ancestors" of "a wave of respectable irrationality coupled with criticism that is essentially destructive." (p. 56) In the light of the major thrust of this book, it is a difficult position to maintain. After all, it was these "ancestors" of the irrationalist movement and their followers who pressured the university, at no small price, to reconsider, revise, and adjust its structure. In a positive way they have demanded accountability from an institution that was in grave danger of drowning in a sea of irrelevance. The besieged (ivory) towers have been forced into the dilemma so ably analysed by Belshaw largely by those whom he describes as anti-rationalists. Change and reform are not a matter of choice for educational institutions; they are a *must*. Undoubtedly, the so-called anti-rationalists have not endeared themselves to academics like Belshaw since their concept of change demands a fresh start: thus the destructive element he perceives in their philosophies. Perhaps the answer to the dilemma lies more in modification than with either of these polarized positions. At least it would assure consideration of problems and solutions rather than immediate acceptance or rejection on the simple grounds of ideology.

Neil McDonald  
University of Manitoba

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phiques à l'appui, les ressources éducatives actuellement disponibles pour les adultes dans les établissements scolaires ou mises sur pied par différents organismes. Finalement, elle fait état des problèmes reliés particulièrement à l'utilisation des ressources universitaires.

Considérant comme dépassée la problématique de l'intégration ou de la "marginalisation" de l'éducation des adultes par rapport à l'organisation universitaire, les auteurs cherchent une solution, non dans l'adaptation partielle des structures existantes, mais dans la transformation substantielle et globale du système éducatif actuel. Dans cette perspective, ils consacrent la deuxième partie de leur rapport à dégager les aspects fondamentaux d'un modèle d'institution universitaire qui leur semble correspondre aux impératifs de l'évolution socio-économique du Québec. Ils tentent de démontrer d'abord que l'université a un rôle à jouer dans le développement de la société québécoise. En conséquence, ils considèrent que l'université doit se fixer des objectifs et adopter des modes d'intervention qui tiennent compte des exigences et des besoins diversifiés des individus, des groupes et de l'ensemble de la collectivité.

Puis, ils s'engagent dans l'analyse des diverses fonctions de l'université et ils exposent les nombreux défis de taille que cette dernière devra relever si elle accepte de resserrer ses liens avec le milieu et d'être, non un facteur de freinage, mais un agent majeur des transformations en cours. Cependant ils considèrent que la nécessité d'élargir les pouvoirs "décisionnels," de les partager avec d'autres milieux et de consentir à une plus grande mobilisation des ressources éducatives, constitue le défi majeur qui se pose à l'université. Ensuite, s'appuyant sur de nombreux documents, tels le rapport de la Commission Carnegie sur l'enseignement supérieur, celui de la Troisième Conférence internationale de Tokyo sur l'éducation des adultes, les auteurs préconisent de nouveaux modes

d'intervention privilégiant l'apprentissage plutôt que l'enseignement, l'approche écologique plutôt que la transmission individuelle du savoir.

Finalement ils vont même jusqu'à souhaiter que l'université se transforme si profondément qu'elle puisse naturellement s'intégrer à l'éducation permanente. C'est par la clarification de ce dernier concept qu'ils terminent la deuxième partie de leur rapport. Ils tentent d'abord de dissiper toutes les ambiguïtés possibles, puis ils définissent l'éducation permanente comme étant un processus qui est axé sur "l'être de l'homme" et qui constitue "un effort jamais achevé de connaissances au monde" (p. 196).

Fidèles à leur style systématique, les auteurs consacrent la troisième partie de leur rapport à la présentation de près de quatre-vingts recommandations, précédée d'un préambule dans lequel ils montrent que leurs conclusions convergent avec celles d'autres études et suivie de deux rapports de projets pilotes. Devant l'impossibilité de résumer toutes ces recommandations qui reflètent, tant par leur qualité que par leur quantité, la perspicacité et l'envergure des auteurs, nous nous contenterons de citer la première, de laquelle à notre avis, découlent implicitement les autres: "Que le gouvernement du Québec adopte comme principe organisateur des politiques d'éducation, au cours des prochaines années, le développement d'une société éducative, dans laquelle soient conjuguées les ressources de formation scolaires et extra-scolaires, au service de toute la collectivité, groupes et individus" (p. 207).

La tâche est immense, elle requerra les efforts de plus d'une génération, mais Gaëtan Daoust et Pierre Bélanger nous ont convaincu que le mouvement vers la société éducative est déjà irréversible. "L'école peut cesser d'exister; l'homme ne s'arrêtera pas d'apprendre" (p. 168).

*Magdelhayne F. Buteau*  
McGill University

**Gresham Riley, ed.  
VALUES, OBJECTIVITY AND  
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.**

**Don Mills:  
Addison-Wesley, 1974.  
152 pp. \$3.95.**

This little paperback, one volume in the publisher's series of *Dialogues in the Social Sciences*, is intended as an introduction to some fundamental questions in the philosophy of social science. It is a collection of eight articles and excerpts from lengthy writings in the field, all recent contributions with the exception of a piece from Max Weber's work. The aim is to demonstrate the practical and theoretical significance of the present debate over values and objectivity in the social sciences. The papers are grouped together in four sections each presenting two fundamentally opposed viewpoints. There is a brief introduction to every section together with suggestions for further readings. There is, in addition, a good bibliography and a general introduction that places the controversial issues in historical and philosophical perspectives.

It is obvious that an attempt has been made, through the selection and organization of the content, to give equal exposure to opposing views on these issues. The attempt has been successful, yet a certain lack of balance in the introductory section has not been altogether avoided. Robert Nisbet's defence of objectivity, expressed in an essay taken from the *New York Times Book Review*, may match Marvin Surkin's attack in clarity and vehemence, but its comparative brevity and the nature of its original purpose do little to equate it to the latter's thoroughness in the consideration of matters of social policy. The selections by Richard Rudner and Alvin Gouldner present two clear and well-argued opposing viewpoints on objectivity. These, together with the well-chosen excerpts on values from the work of Abraham Kaplan and Max Weber, provide the main substance of this book.

The concluding section consists of an essay by Howard Becker and a critique by Gresham Riley along with their respective "replies." They dis-

cuss the question of objectivity with reference to the sociology of knowledge and the structure of society. One may question the advisability of including these two selections in an introductory book of this nature since the arguments and counter-arguments may appear rather narrow and involved to a beginner. Nevertheless, this is a useful little book that will certainly encourage the reader to undertake further studies in the subject.

N. Cocalis  
McGill University

**Lois Birkenshaw.  
MUSIC FOR FUN,  
MUSIC FOR LEARNING.**

**Toronto:  
Holt, Rinehart and Winston,  
1974.  
243 pp. \$6.50.**

*Music for Fun, Music for Learning* is a valuable addition to the literature for teachers of young children. Lois Birkenshaw combines wisdom and musical taste with an understanding of children. Her emphasis is on the correlation between learning processes and various aspects of musical development, especially movement. Throughout, different learning concepts are tied to specific musical activities or games.

Birkenshaw is at her best in the sections dealing with movement and singing. Also fine are the rhythm notation games, the suggested bibliography and discography. Discussions on auditory discrimination and sequencing, and the section on instruments for classroom use are superb. Other sections have weaknesses which will, hopefully, be eliminated or corrected in future editions.

In the section on Rounds, inadequate attention is given to introducing canon with movement, speech, clapping and body sounds. Melodic canon is also glossed over and more use might have been made of movement and rhythmic content in the introduction of new songs. Frequently, but not nearly often enough, the reader is cautioned that certain activities or coordinations are difficult or impossible for children with learning disabilities.

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I personally dislike some of the games because they are apt to make young children feel panicky. Music chairs and similar elimination games are destructive in that an undesirable effect (being "out") is obtained through no controllable cause. The eliminated children are not constructively employed during the remainder of the game. Neither are they happy, idle or quiet. As a music teacher, I have not found helpful games with balls, scarves or glasses filled with water. Some of these activities might, however, be useful to teachers who have access to a gym. And a mop!

More direction is needed on how to create the framework within which young children can improvise. In the section on Rondos, Birkenshaw suggests an entire song as the basis of experience for improvisation. However, until the children have had a great deal of experience handling short phrases, this is too long. In "Questions and Answers," we are not told how to deliberately make a phrase sound incomplete (the "question") nor how children can best be led to an understanding of what a balanced phrase is. Further, it is dangerous to suggest accompanying initial improvisations. There should be nothing to disrupt the child's concentration until he has acquired a certain facility and confidence. Nor would I heed the suggestion to use a pentatonic scale for the first pure melodic improvisations. No more notes should be used than the number which virtually guarantees a musical result: two or three at first.

It would have been very valuable to find here a discussion on the emotional climate necessary for a child to be creative — and the emotional benefits from such a climate. Kids have to feel absolutely certain a teacher thinks they're terrific before risking anything so highly personal as on-the-spot improvisations. A music teacher has to handle young egos very gently if she is ever going to hear good improvisations from her students.

Birkenshaw must be read carefully. Little nuggets of great value are tucked away here and there. The greatest asset of *Music for Fun*, *Music for Learning* is the emphasis

on music as a means rather than as an end in itself. It is so fine a book, one wishes it were perfect.

Sally Ranti

Dorval Community Centre

**Dennis M. Adams.**  
**SIMULATION GAMES:**  
**AN APPROACH TO LEARNING.**  
 Worthington:  
 Charles A. Jones, 1975.  
 120 pp. \$6.60.

As teachers consider a more human classroom experience where children have choices, discuss freely, and demonstrate sensitivity to others rather than working at dull dittos to acquire pre-determined skills, then Adams' book, *Simulation Games: An Approach to Learning*, offers a gaming strategy where children play while thinking, problem-solving, and using language. So many curricula of the 60's reflect a strong cognitive thrust where children's learning is fragmented into skill groups and levels with each segment of instruction designed by a distant expert that Adams' succinct work is a pleasant departure.

In a lucid, persuasive style Adams describes how simulation games relate to learning by justifying play as a vehicle for children building concepts, for vicariously experiencing real or imaginary situations and developing sensitivity to feelings of others in group dynamics. While simulation games resemble role-playing and creative dramatics, they allow teacher and students to add the dimension of rules and conditions relative to the solution of a problem. Games are thus models of the real world with controlled variables.

Adams reviews many commercial educational games for their applicability to elementary and secondary classrooms: *Crisis*, a game of international relations, *Legislature*, a game in which students argue and maneuver, and *Ghetto Game* and *Blacks and Whites* which allow students to encounter problems of poverty and discrimination. He describes a group of teacher-made communication games, which, while not actual simulations, provide children with

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speaking and listening experiences in non-competitive game situations.

However, since Adams does not suggest how simulation games may be integrated into the total curriculum, we are left with only the description of a specialized teaching-learning technique. A key point which he fails to consider is the matching of game content and procedures with the concept level of the children who are participating. If a child wants to take part in the *Caribou Hunt* of the Netsilik Eskimos, then he must be able to transform his thinking to another's viewpoint; he needs prerequisite concepts and vocabulary or the game loses its significance. In *Legislature* students may use techniques of bribery or log-rolling to gain points. Thus discussions of values are inherent in the use of some simulation games, and these values should not be considered in isolation. The child and the total curriculum must be integrated.

Adams assures us that simulation games are not fads or panaceas, and an asset of his work is the introduction of alternative means of dealing with curricula objectives. For the teacher in a child-centered classroom who is seeking ways of involving children with a project or theme, in stimulating critical thinking, and in helping them play out a situation to see the consequences, this book has great relevance. The real issue is not whether or not to utilize a simulation game in the classroom, but which game matches the objectives of the project, for what purposes, and with children of which concept levels, interests, and group interaction skills.

Audrey J. Crandall  
Rhode Island College

Margaret and Douglas Rector.  
**THE GIFT IS GIVEN:  
SELF GUIDED PRACTICE  
OF THE SKILLS OF  
TEACHING INTERACTION.**  
Dunkirk, N.Y.:  
Easttown Press, 1974.  
119 pp. \$6.00.

The title, *The Gift is Given*, is both misleading and rather pretentious. The "gift" is the bright and clear

mirror of a teacher's self received from viewing a video tape recorded (VTR) lesson. The authors see the VTR lesson as the answer to Robert Burns' plea, "O, would some power the gift to give us, to see ourselves as others see us."

The handbook is designed as a self-guided practice manual for teaching interaction skills such as questioning, praising, and reinforcement. The authors claim the book brings together a wide variety of techniques which would cost thousands of dollars if purchased separately in commercial video tape programs. The book begins by looking at present teacher habits and by asking the reader to develop the "skill" of self-awareness. Other skills were chosen on the basis of observation of teachers over a period of years and work with experimental groups at the Teacher Education Research Center at Fredonia, New York. They include: habitual praise and reinforcement, diagnosis, involving and valuing, concept level variation, and controlling interaction through role-playing. The method of study is simple: the teacher reads the chapter for the skill chosen, records a ten minute teaching segment, and analyzes the segment with the use of the play-back guide.

Although any teacher may select a skill from the handbook and practice individually (with her own students and the VTR), the Rectors recommend that she practice skills with small groups of children outside the classroom or with peers in order to provide a low-stress, "cool" environment. The usual 30-40 student classroom situation is difficult to record adequately and provides too much stress for the teacher who is concentrating on developing new skills. The authors remind the reader that "teachers function in a perpetual overload, by the standards of other professions, who take their clients, or patients, one at a time."

Skills should be practiced with the VTR until teachers reach a point where "their responses to student needs are almost automatic." In support of this contention, the Rectors cite Alfred North Whitehead's assertion that civilization advances by extending the number of important

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Skills should be practiced with the VTR until teachers reach a point where "their responses to student needs are almost automatic." In support of this contention, the Rectors cite Alfred North Whitehead's assertion that civilization advances by extending the number of important

operations we can perform without thinking about them. However, although few would argue that teachers should become more sensitive to students or that they should provide positive reinforcement more frequently, they must beware of responses that are *almost* automatic!

The authors recommend the use of the handbook for all levels of teacher preparation, including college instructors, and for inservice training. The text is so liberally sprinkled with commas, however, that sensitive writers may find the reading painful. (The "Foreword — To Teachers," one page in length, contains more than fifteen unnecessary or misused commas.) Composition teachers, weary from "correcting" student themes, may never read past the first few pages.

Debate may arise from statements such as: "Only by this means [VTR] can the teacher see, and understand, and relive, the many purposes and feelings that underlie each recorded action" and "Teachers now have the capability of studying and controlling the environment, *absolutely*." However, teachers may be won over on page one with the Rectors' statement that "Teachers are teachers, and are capable of teaching themselves anything they wish, as fast as they wish."

Donna L. Cook  
McGill University

**J. M. Thyne.**  
**PRINCIPLES OF EXAMINING.**  
London:  
University of London Press,  
1974.  
278 pp. \$6.95.

Despite their detractors, examinations have played an important, and honorable, part in British education. Some forty years ago two significant books, *Essays on Examinations* (an international enquiry and report) and *Marks of Examiners*, laid divergent pathways for subsequent writers. On the one hand were those concerned with the history, practice, and general imperfections of written examinations; on the other, the critical, experimental, statistically oriented writers. Thus

libraries are littered with works which seldom add much to our previous knowledge, though in the forty years there have been considerable gains in the statistical sophistication of test construction, and there are many worthwhile texts indicating how teachers can improve the quality of their own tests. But little has been done either by a search through current examination practices or by consideration *ab initio* towards a statement of, let alone a critical analysis of, the principles which underlie examining and examinations. Thyne's book purports to consider these principles.

His premises are clearly stated. An examiner seeks to maximize the validity of the *results* of the examinations he sets. We must therefore look at the procedures by which the results are produced (behaviors given in response to questions). The behaviors are subject to evaluation; the method of evaluation must as a necessary condition yield consistent results. But the behaviors (responses) should all be relevant to the purpose of the examination. If the examination consists of more than one question, then each question should elicit responses relevant to the purpose of the examination. The totality of behaviors is a combination of part-behaviors; the form of combination, whether simply or weightedly additive, can affect the final ranking of candidates and is therefore related to the topic of consistency in measurement. Since, as Thyne shows, these conditions are necessary *and* sufficient for the results of examinations to be valid, the rest of his book contains their careful expansion and their non-mathematical translation into the practice of good examiners.

*Principles of Examining* has three parts: "The Meaning of Examination Results," "The Combining of Marks," "Setting Questions and Marking Answers." The first section (nine chapters) is important as a contribution to our understanding of the principles of examining; the second treats a numerate topic in an almost completely non-numerate manner; and the third should appeal to those who like to see principles translated into a "how to do it" set of exercises. The style is lucid, the language simple,

operations we can perform without thinking about them. However, although few would argue that teachers should become more sensitive to students or that they should provide positive reinforcement more frequently, they must beware of responses that are *almost* automatic!

The authors recommend the use of the handbook for all levels of teacher preparation, including college instructors, and for inservice training. The text is so liberally sprinkled with commas, however, that sensitive writers may find the reading painful. (The "Foreword — To Teachers," one page in length, contains more than fifteen unnecessary or misused commas.) Composition teachers, weary from "correcting" student themes, may never read past the first few pages.

Debate may arise from statements such as: "Only by this means [VTR] can the teacher see, and understand, and relive, the many purposes and feelings that underlie each recorded action" and "Teachers now have the capability of studying and controlling the environment, *absolutely*." However, teachers may be won over on page one with the Rectors' statement that "Teachers are teachers, and are capable of teaching themselves anything they wish, as fast as they wish."

Donna L. Cook  
McGill University

**J. M. Thyne.**  
**PRINCIPLES OF EXAMINING.**  
London:  
University of London Press,  
1974.  
278 pp. \$6.95.

Despite their detractors, examinations have played an important, and honorable, part in British education. Some forty years ago two significant books, *Essays on Examinations* (an international enquiry and report) and *Marks of Examiners*, laid divergent pathways for subsequent writers. On the one hand were those concerned with the history, practice, and general imperfections of written examinations; on the other, the critical, experimental, statistically oriented writers. Thus

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with many major points illustrated by clever cartoons. Yet the treatment is deceptive. The cautious approach which keeps restating the premises and then giving examples familiar to us in other contexts (disguises) may lead us to think we are more familiar with the principles than we are. For those with a more statistical turn of mind it provides some basis for display of statistical ingenuity which they (and not the book) can exhibit. As an approach to the whole topic, and without recourse to the more quantified texts in "Educational Tests and Measurement," Thyne has given us a very useful little book. Its value will be enhanced when the student uses it as a precursor to the necessary, more statistical approach to which he is normally subjected.

Reginald Edwards  
McGill University

**Diane Ravitch.**  
**THE GREAT SCHOOL WARS.**  
New York:  
Basic Books, 1974.  
449 pp. \$14.25.

The basic assumptions governing American educational history have been recently undergoing important changes, due both to deeper and more sophisticated empirical research and to the opposition of minority groups and radical scholars to the dominant paradigms. Diane Ravitch's book is an example of this revisionist trend: instead of viewing the evolution of the public school system of New York as betterment and presenting a rosy picture of its history, she writes about the conflicts and the "School Wars" (terms she borrows from Nicholas Butler).

According to her, four such wars occurred since the inception of public education in New York. The first opposed the Catholic clergy to the upper class philanthropic Protestant Free School Society; it ended by the creation of a public school system. The second war, "The Rise of the Expert," opposed the specialists attempting a centralization and a professionalization to the poor and the immigrants who were endangering

the American social order. The third "The Crusade for Efficiency," was an attempt to make the school apparently more efficient by adopting the "Gary Plan"; and the last one, "Racism and Reaction" which is still going on, opposes minority groups to teachers in a fight for the control of the educational system.

Ravitch's book is lengthy and well documented, but her sympathies and her antipathies are certainly obvious: she sides against the upper class reformers and with the underdogs, be they Irish or other immigrants. However, because of her opposition to the upper classes, she comes to identify the last school war with the Ford Foundation and the Lindsay administration and sides with the teachers' union against the supporters of decentralization. In doing so, she forgets some of her previous sympathies for the Black community groups, underdogs who allied with the upper classes. She tends to overlook the professional and political power and the wrongs of the teachers' union, while emphasizing Black mistakes. This issue seems to be too close for any dispassionate treatment, and Ravitch's work would have been much more valuable had she left the last school war for a more polemical kind of book.

*The Great School Wars* is of interest to Canadian historians of education, for it raises some important comparative questions. Did things happen the same way during Canada's more recent and quite different waves of immigration? Should the basic assumptions and images about the Canadian urban (and perhaps also rural) educational systems be revised? Can one apply the same type of political analysis to the educational history of Canadian cities, or were they economically, socially and culturally too different from New York? Thorough historical research similar to Ravitch's should be carried out in the different parts of this country so that the backing of such research could support and clarify many of the present criticisms of Canadian education.

Michel Laferrière  
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Michel Laferrière  
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R. A. Landor.  
**THE EDUCATION OF  
 EVERYCHILD.**  
 Berea, Ohio.:  
 Liberal Arts Publishing, 1974.  
 150 pp. \$7.95.

*The Education of Everychild* is a valiant attempt to outline a liberal arts approach to the elementary education of children. In the author's context, elementary education represents the first ten years of a child's schooling, from the ages of six to sixteen. During this period, the child is introduced to the important "languages" of the liberal arts and develops lasting powers of intelligence and imagination.

Landor is obviously under the influence of the Great Books Foundation. He announces in the preface that he is neither a learned man nor a teacher, yet he uses 130 pages to emphasize the failure of schools to provide a liberal education. He could have made his point effectively in less than half that space. He reiterates that school has become "a center for waste of thought and the abatement of imagination." (p. 5) According to him, good teachers and a good educational system should teach the child understanding rather than that he be "understood." Children require skills, standards by which to live and, above all, discipline. Education may broaden man's powers and horizons but cannot change his nature. Teachers, principals and administrators cannot be held responsible for mak-

ing "Everychild" happy, moral and mature, but they should be responsible for teaching him the four major languages of learning in the liberal arts. These are discourse, mathematics, music and visual art.

Discourse involves the use of superior books that have survived the passage of time and add meaning to the pupils' lives. The study of mathematics should not be directly concerned with utility. When the child reaches intellectual maturity, he should begin to learn mathematics from its masters. Music must be taught by musicians who emphasize understanding and love of music as well as the ability to perform well. Art education must develop visual intelligence and imagination. The child should observe the great masters, understand representative works of art, and create his own visual art.

Most of Landor's ideas are not novel. As have other proponents of the Great Books approach, he decries the rampant and ineffective use of gimmicks and improvements. He, too, complains that society has made no serious effort to institute a "reasonable, practicable and even necessary" (p. 155) liberal arts education for all children, but he offers few concrete suggestions for doing so.

Two positive features of the book are the excellent bibliography and, for the education of "Everychild," the Junior Great Books list from the Great Books Foundation .

Lila Wolfe  
 McGill University



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**Hélène Mignault** est lectrice au Centre de langue française de McGill depuis sept ans. Elle a travaillé à la mise sur pied et au rodage du cours 401-D (Functional French), cours dont elle est devenue la directrice en 1972.

**Eigil Pedersen** knows Wayne Hall well — as a student of his in 1951-2, as a participant in the Practical Teaching Program from 1953-8, and as a colleague since 1958. Dr. Pedersen is a Professor of Education and Vice-Principal (Academic) of McGill.

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